

Classical Philology

VOLUME IX

April 1914

NUMBER 2

THE FORM OF THE EARLY ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN HOUSE¹

BY MARGARET C. WAITES

Most recent writers agree in their opinions as to the antiquity of what Vitruvius calls the "Tuscan atrium." This type, the one most common at Pompeii, Vitruvius says was roofed by placing beams across the width of the room above the ends of the impluvium, laying cross-beams upon these, and connecting the corners of the rectangle thus formed with the corners of the wall by other timbers laid diagonally.² This is generally regarded as the oldest type of atrium, probably derived from the East by the Etruscans themselves and early introduced by them into Rome.³ Some authorities,

¹ This article was written at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, and owes much to the encouragement and counsel of the director, Professor J. B. Carter, and Assistant Professor A. W. Van Buren.

² Vitruv. vi. 3. 1: "Tuscanica sunt in quibus trabes in atrii latitudine traeictae habeant interpensiva et collicias ab angulis parietum ad angulos tignorum intercurrentes, item asseribus stilicidiorum in medium compluvium deiectis." Cf. also Varro *L.L.* v. 161: "Tuscanicum (cavum aedium) dictum a Tuscis, posteaquam illorum cavum aedium similare cooperunt."

³ To show the prevailing view, it may be useful to quote a few examples. Stuart Jones in his *Companion to Roman History* (1912), 159, says: "Vitruvius describes five types of atria, . . . and as that which appears to be the earliest in date and is the most usual at Pompeii is called by him *a. Tuscanicum*, we may assume that it owes its origin to the Etruscan architects."

German authorities are more explicit. Cf. F. Marx, "Die Entwicklung d. römischen Hauses," *N. Jahrb.*, XII (1909), 548 ff.: "Die Römer haben . . . das Atrium von den Etruskern in der Königszeit übernommen. . . . Oben in den engen Bergstädten der etruskischen Königssitze ist das Atrium entstanden und

however, among them Frothingham in *Roman Cities* (1910), 118 ff., and the writers in Daremberg and Saglio, s.vv. "cavum aedium," "domus," and "tectum," consider the *atrium testudinatum*, that is, the type with no aperture in the roof, as the earliest form, from which developed first the *atrium displuiatum*, in which the roof sloped away from the central opening and the rainwater was conducted by gutters to the street, and then the *atrium tuscanicum*. With this latter view I agree, and I hope in the present article to trace the development from the simpler to the more complicated form of house and to establish the existence of a transition-form between the *atrium testudinatum* and subsequent varieties.

I

For the earliest type of Italic house, one must, as has long been recognized, turn to the hut-urns, found all over Etruria and Latium. They may be round, oval, or more rarely quadrilateral; they contain only one room; they sometimes have windows, real or simulated, on the side-walls; and over the door, for the escape of smoke, there is a small round opening, often closed with a disk,¹ evidently the translation into terra-cotta of a sort of wooden shutter. A corresponding opening appears at the opposite end of the ridge-pole. The roof is sometimes rounded in exactly the shape of a testudo,² and sometimes rises in a pyramidal shape³ which recalls Varro's description of the *atrium*, or *cavum aedium, testudinatum*.⁴ Such a

trägt deutlich das Zeichen seiner Entstehung aus begengten Wohnverhältnissen Nur das Atrium Tuscanicum genannte Haus verdient die Benennung als Atrium."

The latest theory derives the Tuscan atrium from the East; cf. Pfuhl in *N. Jahrb.* (1911), 173^a: "Das griechische Peristyl wie das etruskisch-römische Atrium sind alt-kretisch." See also Pernice, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (Ed. 1912), II, 25: "Die Form selbst [i.e., of the atrium Tuscanicum] scheint von den Etruskern entlehnt zu sein, jedoch ist es schwer zu sagen wie diese Veränderung entstanden ist. Die Öffnung des Daches erscheint, nämlich, als eine so eigenartige radikale Veränderung, dass man sich schwer zu der Annahme einer Entwicklung vom geschlossenen zum geöffneten Dach entschliesst Die Etrusker werden den neuen Haustypus aus ihrer früheren Heimat mitgebracht haben."

¹ Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie, Italie Centrale*, Pl. 175, No. 14; Altmann, *Die Italischen Rundbauten* (1906), 14.

² Montelius, *op. cit.*, No. 15.

³ Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. "tectum," Fig. 6769.

⁴ L.L. v. 161: "Cavum aedium dictum qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. In hoc locus si nullus relictus erat, sub divo qui esset, dicebatur Testudo ab testudinis similitudine, ut est in praetorio et castris."

house contained, of course, nothing but a common living-room, and it is at once obvious that in such restricted space no large opening in the roof over the central hearth could have been tolerated.¹ In fact the smoke-holes were, as I have remarked, uniformly placed at the ends of the ridge-pole.

A more developed and often complicated dwelling is imitated in the Etruscan chamber-tombs, and the question immediately arises whether atria with apertures in the roofs are represented here. One may object that such structures as the chamber-tombs, which are in the large majority of cases subterranean, would naturally be devoid of roof-openings. This objection, however, rests upon a misconception. The tombs were not dwellings, they imitated dwellings, and upon the closeness of the imitation the happiness of the dead was probably in large measure thought to depend. If, then, the main room of a dwelling-house had an opening in the center of the roof, and if the roof itself was shaped like that of a displuviate or of a Tuscan atrium, we should expect to find, not necessarily actual openings, but more likely simulated openings in the roofs of the chamber-tombs. The principle leading to the adoption of simulated apertures in the roof would be the same as that which is responsible for the false windows on the side-walls of the hut-urns, for the false doors of the Grotta delle Camere finite² at Corneto, and for the sham armor of the Regolini-Galassi tomb.³ In fact there are, as we shall see, innumerable cases where much ingenuity and labor were expended to make the roof of the tomb an exact imitation of the timbered ceiling of a house.

Another more cogent objection urges the conservatism of religion, which would make it quite natural that the architecture of the tomb should lag far behind that of the house. To form a conception of early dwellings, however, we have almost no guides but those furnished by religious usage, namely, urns and tombs; for in the very few cases where foundations of actual Etruscan houses

¹ One may query whether it would not have been possible to use a sort of movable curtain or wooden shutter to close an opening in the roof, just as the smoke-hole could be closed. If such an arrangement had ever come into general use, however, the name for this central opening would surely never have been *impluvium*. Yet such is the term in a passage relating to very early religious usage. See p. 125.

² Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, I, 364.

³ *Ibid.*, 267 f.

are left to us, it is almost impossible to establish from them conclusions as to the shape of the roof. Religion, too, may at least be reliable as a relative guide. It may help us to discover which of two styles is probably the earlier, and if in the vast majority of tombs and urns we find this earlier type persisting, only occasionally dispossessed by a later development, we shall be warranted in assuming a proportionate, though not an equal, slowness of evolution in the dwelling-house.

Moreover, there is one instance which shows that, at least occasionally, tombs were constructed in the same way as contemporary houses. The houses, namely, of Monte Sant' Angelo in the Faliscan territory show rectangular foundations, but, apparently, a type of roof like that of the round hut. At the same time, tombs in this district, apparently contemporary with the houses, have a similar foundation and a similar style of roofing.¹ An urn from Corneto mentioned in *Notizie degli Scavi* (1881), 353 (cf. Pl. V, 12 and 13), and a tomb of Vetulonia² display the same peculiarity. From these facts, we may perhaps infer that roof-construction both in house and in tomb tended to be conservative.

II

The simplest type of atrium in a rectangular chamber-tomb had, therefore, under the influence of the hut, a rounded tortoise-shell³

¹ *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei*, IV (1894), 89 ff. on Tomb VIII: "Si entrava in una camera a pianta trapezoidale. . . . Degno di molta considerazione è stato per noi ciò che abbiamo notato nell' imposta della volta. Questa non termina come nelle tombe a camera con intaglio nel masso che imitino il soffitto di una casa quadrata; ma, come apparece dalla parte del tufo che non è frantato nelle pareti di fondo, e dal poco che ne resta nella parete dell' entrata, imita l'interno della copertura di una capanna. . . . Ora questa maniera di copertura è in armonia con un altro dato di fatto, da noi studiato nelle tracce che si son conservate delle nuove abitazioni sulle pendici prossime. Abbiamo quivi riconosciuti segni dai quali si deduce che se la nuova casa fu fatta ad imitazione del costume greco [i.e., rectangular], con moltissima probabilità all' impianto non corrispose lo stile della copertura. I canaletti incassati nella roccia, per deviare le acque piovane dall' interno, provano che il tetto fu compiuto col sistema primitivo, cioè nel modo con cui formavasi il tetto delle capanne. Che la nostra tomba appartenga al periodo delle nuove case a pianta quadrata, e ne riproduca la forma, si revela chiaramente confrontando la pianta che ne abbiamo riprodotto con la pianta delle case. . . ."

² Cf. Pfuhl, "Zur Geschichte des Kurvenbaus," *Athen. Mitteilungen*, XXX (1905), 341 f.

³ I use the term *atrium testudinatum* to include both this type and the kind with a pyramidal closed roof to which the title is more usually applied.

roof like that in Montelius, *Italie Centrale*, Pl. 175, No. 14. The two cuts in Martha, *L'Art Étrusque*, Figs. 192¹ and 193, illustrate the gradual change of this sort of roof as it adapted itself to an ovoid building. The further change, when rectangular buildings became common, is shown by the urn in Martha, Fig. 196, and a still more developed type when the house begins to evolve a ridge-pole, in an urn at Florence.² The roof now slants in two directions; that is, it is not strictly any longer a *tectum testudinatum*, but rather what Festus³ calls a *tectum pectinatum*. Often the roof was elaborately decorated with antefixes, sometimes in the shape of human or animal heads.⁴ Terraces and loggias⁵ could further complicate this originally simple type of house.

Of the interior of this developed form, we may gain an idea from the main rooms of most Etruscan chamber-tombs. The ceiling of the ordinary type is composed of two inclined planes, rising slightly toward the center where they are joined by a horizontal slab carved to imitate the king-beam. Sometimes an even closer representation in stone of a timber-roof is obtained by imitating the side-rafters also. Almost every Etruscan necropolis shows instances of this style of roofing. I have noted examples from Bieda,⁶ Bolsena,⁷ Cervetri,⁸ Capua,⁹ Corneto,¹⁰ Musarna,¹¹ Orvieto,¹² Otricoli,¹³ Perugia,¹⁴ Poggio Sommavilla¹⁵ (in the Sabine country, not far from Civita Castellana), Veii,¹⁶ and Vulci.¹⁷ Many more might be cited.

Another common form of roofing for the central chamber is an imitation in stone of wood-coffering. A coffer or caisson consists of a series of rectangles, each within the last, so that finally only a

¹ Fig. 192 = Montelius, Pl. 175, 15.

² Milani, *Museo Arch. di Firenze*, II, Pl. 49, 1 = Martha, Fig. 197.

³ Festus 260–61, ed. Thewrewk de Ponor.

⁴ Cf. Montelius, *Italie Centrale*, Pl. 238, 8, and Milani, II, Pl. 48, 1.

⁵ Milani, *Museo Arch. di Firenze*, II, Pl. 49, 1 = Martha, Fig. 197.

⁶ N.S. (1877), 152.

¹² *Ibid.* (1863), 43.

⁷ *Bulletino dell' Istituto* (1857), 138.

¹³ N.S. (1909), 282.

⁸ *Ibid.* (1834), 98; (1839), 18.

¹⁴ Körte, *Volumnier-Grab*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.* (1872), 44.

¹⁵ *Bull. d. Ist.* (1837), 211.

¹⁰ *Römische Mitteilungen* (1886), 86 ff.

¹⁶ N.S. (1882), 292.

¹¹ *Bull. d. Ist.* (1850), 38.

¹⁷ Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, 533. For a good description of this sort of roofing see N.S. (1877), 152.

square opening is left in the center, small enough to be closed by a board or a tile. I shall discuss this kind of ceiling later. Here, it is sufficient to say that I am aware of no instance where a single caisson is employed by itself for the center of the ceiling in a main tomb-chamber. Not uncommon, on the other hand, are instances where the ceiling of the main room or atrium is covered with repetitions of the caisson. These coffers are found in tombs at Chiusi and Corneto,¹ Perugia,² Poggio Prisca³ (near Sovana), and Vulci.⁴

In all the tombs so far discussed, there are no traces of a roof-aperture in the central chamber. All in this respect resemble the primitive gathering-room of the Italic hut, and this despite two circumstances which might seem likely to suggest another style. The first of these is the extreme elaborateness of some of the tombs. Obviously they are meant to imitate houses of no mean extent, where, one might think, there were so many side-chambers for the life of the family in inclement weather that the central hall might conveniently have been lighted by a large aperture in the roof. For example, the sepulcher of the Volumnii at Perugia contains nine rooms besides the central hall, and some of the tombs at Vulci (see for instance Gsell, Fig. 82) are similarly complicated and display side-chambers larger in proportion to the "atrium."

Then too it is often asserted that the Tuscan atrium originated under crowded conditions where houses stood so close to each other that it was not convenient to conduct water by outside gutters from the roof. When, therefore, as at Orvieto, we find adjoining sepulchers forming parallel and cross-streets and united into *insulae*, we expect imitations of the Tuscan atrium. Instead, "the slabs which compose the inner walls, from the fourth row upward, constantly converge until they are united by another row of slabs which, fitted like a hinge into the tufa blocks of the two opposite sides, forms, as it were, the key of this false vault."⁵

There are, however, a few apparent instances of a main hall with an aperture in the middle of the roof, and these I shall discuss with care.

¹ So, for example, at Chiusi (see *Annali dell'Istituto* [1851], 256) and at Corneto (Martha, *L'Art Étrusque*, Fig. 146). See also Martha, Fig. 123. This sort of ceiling is of course extremely common in Greece; cf. Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*, 179 ff.

² Körte, *op. cit.* ³ *Annali* (1843), 225. ⁴ Gsell, *op. cit.* ⁵ *Annali* (1877), 101.

III

The first is mentioned by Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries*, I, 392. Of the tomb near Corneto called La Mercareccia, Dennis says:

The ceiling of this tomb is hewn into the form of a trapezium, with beams on each of its sides, sloping off from the center, which is occupied by a square aperture, tapering up like a funnel through the rock for twenty feet, till it opens in a round hole in the surface of the plain above. In the sides of this chimney or shaft are the usual¹ niches for the feet and hands. . . . It is worthy of remark that in its roof this tomb, which is unique in this particular, represents that sort of *cavaedium* which Vitruvius terms *displuviatum*. . . . It may be, however, that this opening represents—what it more strictly resembles—a chimney. . . . A steep passage cut in the floor of the tomb leads down to an inner chamber. . . . "

This inner chamber is represented on Gori's plan² as almost the size of the outer one. He speaks of the outer cella as a vestibule,³ evidently regarding the inner apartment as the main room, a view in which he is followed by Urlichs, writing in *Bulletino dell' Istituto* (1839), 67, who says of the sepulcher: "It is composed of a corridor, having a hole in the cliff above it, from which by means of a round entrance one reaches the principal grotto." The tomb of the Tarquins at Cervetri is constructed in the same manner, i.e., the inner chamber is on a lower level than the outer; and, in that case, the inner room is plainly the principal one. On the other hand, in a similar tomb depicted by Byres,⁴ the inner section is much smaller.

Even, however, if the chamber with the aperture represents the atrium, one hesitates to regard the opening as intended to represent the compluvium, for the simple reason that it is so evidently an entrance. I have said (p. 114) that at times the roof of the *atrium testudinatum* assumed a pyramidal shape. Now if an opening for descent were cut in the roof of such an atrium, we should have on the inner side an exact reproduction of what we find in the ceiling of the Corneto tomb. On the other hand, we should also have an *atrium*

¹ "Usual" because found in the Civitâ Castellana neighborhood with some frequency and occasionally elsewhere; see below, p. 126.

² *Museo Etrusco* (1743), III, 90, Class II, Pl. 7.

³ *Op. cit.*, 90: "Exterior haec Cella, quae vestibuli locum tenere videtur." At times, however, Italian writers speak of the atrium as a *vestibolo*; see p. 132.

⁴ *Hypogaei*, Pt. IV, Pls. 1-3.

displuviatum, because an *atrium displuviatum* is nothing more or less than a pyramidal *atrium testudinatum* with the pyramid truncated and pierced by a hole.¹

The fact that the tomb at Corneto has apparently no other entrance would also argue against the theory that the opening imitates the compluvium.² Still, if such openings occurred frequently and always in the main room, one would be inclined to believe that besides their actual use as a means of descent peculiar to the tomb, they also imitated an integral part of the dwelling-house. So the wall-paintings in the tombs imitate the decoration of the house, though in subject they are connected with the sepulcher, being probably intended to depict and to assist the happiness of the dead.

If my theory that the aperture at Corneto is merely an entrance, not an imitation of the displuviate atrium, be correct, it will gain support from an instance where the non-pyramidal roof, the kind found in the *atrium pectinatum*, is also provided with an entrance-shaft. For this I turn to the tomb of the Tarquins at Cervetri.³ Here the roof of the main chamber, thirty-five feet square, shows two king-beams and rafters connecting them with the sides of the room. Two square pillars support the roof and between them is a shaft cut through to the plain above where it was covered by slabs. Dennis remarks:⁴ "The shaft was either used as an entrance after the doorway had been closed, by means of niches cut for the feet and hands; or may have served, by the removal of the covering slabs, to ventilate the sepulcher, in preparation for the annual *parentalia*."

In almost all handbooks on Roman private life appears as an example of an *atrium displuviatum* an urn from Chiusi⁵ cited by

¹ Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. "tectum," 63.

² "In the Etruscan cemetery of Certosa near Bologna, the graves have no side-entrances, but are large pits, into which one has to descend from above."—Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, 24. Bartoli (*Gli Antichi Sepolcri*, Pl. 50) gives an illustration of a large round subterranean chamber discovered on the Aventine in 1692, into which one descended by a perpendicular shaft. Byres mentions another tomb at Corneto, the Grotta Intagliata, which was entered only from the roof. Of this roof he gives no illustration but as Dennis calls La Mercareccia unique, I judge that it was not of the displuviate type. Dennis mentions similar tombs at Ferento (*Cities and Cemeteries*, I, 392).

³ Dennis, I, 242; *Martha*, Fig. 149.

⁴ I, 245^a.

⁵ Fig. 1, below.

Martha¹ as at present in the museum at Florence. As represented in Martha's illustration, the roof has the form of a trunkated pyramid and there is a rectangular opening at the top. It is hard to see how the safety of the contents could have been secured in such an urn, and therefore, before visiting the Etruscan Museum at Florence in search of the original, I conjectured that the shape of a lost cover might be established by comparison with another urn in the same museum.² The top-piece here is a little curving roof³ such as would fit exactly on the aperture of the Chiusi urn and might easily, if movable, have been lost.

This conjecture received interesting confirmation when I later visited Florence, and a lengthy search proved that the original of Martha's Fig. 198 is not in the Etruscan Museum. According to Milani, the director, who with other officials was most courteous

in rendering me assistance, it has never been there. Montelius (*Italie Centrale*, Pl. 226, 5) gives an illustration of it and in the provisional explanation of these plates says: "Pls. 226-231. D'après les originaux dans les Musées de Chiusi, de Firenze et de Londres (Pl. 227, Fig. 8)." The urn in question is not in Florence; neither, according to Milani and my own observation,

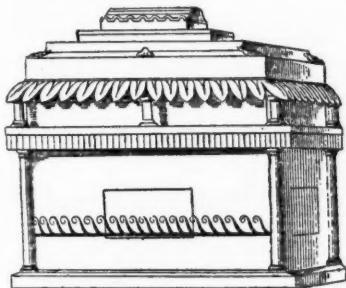


FIG. 2.—Hut-urn in the Museum at Florence (Martha, *L'Art Étrusque*, Fig. 129).

is it in the museum at Chiusi; and apparently only Pl. 227, Fig. 8, is referred to by Montelius as in London. He was probably misled by

¹ Martha, Fig. 198 = Montelius, *Italie Centrale*, Pl. 226, 5.

² See Martha, Fig. 129, and Milani, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, II, Pl. 49, 2.

³ Fig. 2, above.

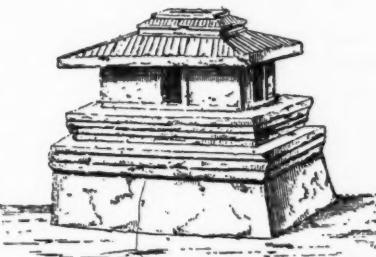


FIG. 1.—Hut-urn from Chiusi (Martha, *L'Art Étrusque*, Fig. 198).

Martha's plate and erroneous reference. Dennis reproduces the urn in his description of Chiusi, but does not say he saw it. As far as I have been able to discover, the only authority who actually saw the urn is Braun who, writing in *Bull. dell' Ist.* (1840), 150, says it was then at Chiusi and adds: "It forms a house of Etruscan architecture, rising on a high quadrilateral foundation and covered by a roof with an enormous projection. *On the top were originally placed other architectural features which have now entirely disappeared.*"¹ It should of course be now impossible to use this example as an argument for the antiquity of the Tuscan atrium.

These three are the only certain instances I have found of apertures or apparent apertures, such as might suggest compluviums, in the roofs of Etruscan atriums.² The last case may be discounted, and in treating the other two I have tried to show that the opening was in all probability not intended to represent the compluvium. Such apertures may have been used for airing the tomb, for clearing out débris, or for entrance. In all cases of the kind, one must remember that, if the hole imitated the compluvium of an atrium, the impluvium cavity would probably be represented below. In a main room, surely some permanent basin must always have caught the rainwater when an opening existed in the roof.

In the roofs of all these tombs, then, one sees prevailing the type of the *atrium testudinatum* which in a very few examples seems on its way to develop into the *atrium displuviatum*. Even in these cases such apertures as exist were always intended for some practical

¹ "Forma una casa d'architettura tosca, ergendosi sopra alto quadrilatero fondamento coperta da un tetto che smisuratamente sporge in fuori. *In cima trovaronsi originariamente collocate altre parti architettoniche che oggi sono perdute senza traccia.*"

² A few doubtful instances may be mentioned here. In describing the roofs of the tombs of Norchia, Orioli in *Annali* (1833), 30, speaks of "una specie di piramide tronca, per rappresentare, io credo, il tetto della casa piovente a quattro acque." Cf. the same authority in Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.*, IV, 199 and Pl. 42, 2. Dennis, a careful investigator, could find no traces of this façade (cf. *Cities and Cemeteries*, I, 204). *N.S.* (1904), 388, contains an obscure account by Franci of an Orvietan tomb: "L'interno di m. 2.25 di lungh., di m. 1.60 di largh. edi m. 1.85 di altezza, ha panchine intorno di m. .60 di largh. e m. .48 di altezza, con un'apertura nella volta leggermente arcuata, di m. 4.15 X .55, con un battente di m. .20 e chiusa da una lastra di tufo." The *battente* would seem to preclude the idea of a compluvium in this case.

For instances of tombs with non-rectangular apertures which could only have been intended for entering or cleaning the sepulcher, see *N.S.* (1877), 153, and *Bull. dell' Ist.* (1874), 237.

purpose and probably had no other design. After a careful and extended search, I have found only one recorded trace of a shape suggesting the *atrium tuscanicum*. Lenoir in *Annali* (1832), 268, mentions the tombs of Toscanella in the following terms:

The upper portion of the grottoes of Toscanella always displays two sloping slabs which are more or less inclined, and the representation of a beam supporting them in the middle. . . . Some grottoes, and this occurs only when the plan is a square, show in the carving of the tufa the representation of the pieces of wood which characterize the construction of the Tuscan Atrium.¹

The early date of this reference, its inaccuracy, and the fact that I find it corroborated neither by any later notice in the periodicals, nor by writers on the general subject of Etruscan civilization, like Dennis, nor by Campanari in his extensive work on Toscanella,² combine to make me discredit it.

IV

Pertinent to the discussion are the few sites where actual Etruscan house-foundations of early date remain. Ancient houses are likely to have a central hearth-hole, and at Falerii traces of this were found.³ Such houses could never of course have had a large opening in the roof over the hearth. Sometimes even the draught from the door necessitated the moving of the hearth, for in other houses of the neighborhood⁴ one finds in a back corner a little chimney-hole about 8 cm. in diameter.

At Marzabotto⁵ tiles which seem to have formed a sort of dormer-window have been found. Brizio⁶ regards these as perhaps proving

¹ "La partie supérieure des chambres de Toscanella offre toujours deux rampans qui ont plus ou moins de pente, et la représentation d'une poutre qui les soutient par le milieu. . . . Quelques caveaux, et cela n'a lieu que lorsque le plan est carré, offrent par le travail opéré dans le tuf la représentation des pièces de bois qui composent la construction de l'Atrium toscan."

² *Tuscania e i suoi monumenti*, 2 vols. (1856). There are hundreds of tombs in the vicinity of Toscanella, but many, even of the most spacious, have been covered up again and I found none which agreed with Lenoir's account. The roofs of some were slightly rounded; others represented the king-beam by a depression and others showed it projecting from the ceiling. Cerasa Giuseppe, secretary of the sindaco and a man of education, told me that he had discovered many tombs and knew the country well. He drew the shapes which the roofs commonly assumed, but none corresponded to Lenoir's statement.

³ *Monumenti Antichi*, IV, Figs. 13 and 14.

⁴ "Dintorni di Corchiano"; see *Röm. Mitt.* (1887), 28.

⁵ *Mon. Ant.*, I (1890), 298 ff.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 302.

the existence of a second story, but it is equally probable that the main room of these Etruscan houses was lighted, like the hut-urns, by a small window over the door.

The houses of this town were grouped in insulae and were of considerable extent.¹ In two of these dwellings (Insula VIIIa, IXa), one entered by a vestibule into a large court which was probably open, as it was paved with flints. In one corner of each house was a well and round the court opened rooms without any regular plan. In front there seem to have been shops, and I would suggest that the open court, which reminds one of the Greek house and also of the Pompeian *villa rustica* at Bosco Reale, might have been used as a yard where carts and bales were kept. Brizio apparently dates the settlement at Marzabotto from the beginning of the fifth century B.C.²

If this arrangement was at all a common one, we should expect to find it sometimes imitated in the tombs. Dennis (I, 120) speaks of a spot called Puntone del Ponte about two miles from Corchiano where there is "a singular tomb, with a sort of court in front sunk

in the rock, and with the remains of a portico." In Vulci and its territory one often discovers tombs of the type called "a cassone" which Gsell³ describes as containing a "vestibule," sometimes square, but oftener rectangular, and open to the sky. This is termed the *cassone*.⁴ Into it, generally toward the middle of one of the long sides, opens the corridor by which one enters the tomb, and opposite are grouped one or more rooms. Sometimes other rooms are found on the short sides of the *cassone*; sometimes, but more rarely, they appear on the corridor side.

FIG. 3.—Plan of a tomb of the cassone-type (Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, Fig. 45).

Often there are inner rooms without direct connection with the *cassone*.⁵ When one compares the plans of tombs like these and

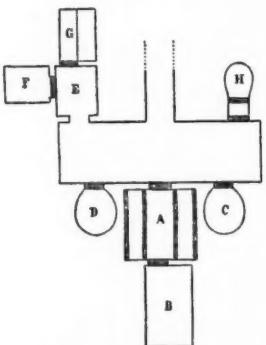
¹ *Mon. Ant.*, loc. cit., Pls. I and V.

² *Op. cit.*, 326.

³ *Fouilles de Vulci*, 431 f.

⁴ Fig. 3, above.

⁵ Gsell, *op. cit.*, 433, regards this type as a little later than the simple corridor tomb without the *cassone*. The vases found in them would date them, according to him, in the sixth century. They disappear some time in the fifth century and the simple corridor tombs take their place.



some of those at Corneto with the houses of Marzabotto and the Roman houses at Ostia, one is tempted to the very sensible conclusion that the Etruscans and the Romans were bound as little as we to the adoption of a single type of dwelling. In the crowded streets of Vetulonia¹ only one house, No. 19 on the plan, shows traces of an impluvium, though the city was probably not destroyed till about 74 B.C.

V

One may picture, then, the main room of an Etruscan habitation as of considerable size (the "atrium" of the tomb of the Tarquins is 35 feet square), with a timbered ceiling through the center of which ran usually the king-beam. Sometimes pillars were used to support the roof. In the center was the hearth and over the door was a low, shuttered window from which the smoke issued. Such a room, if surrounded on three of its sides by inner chambers and forced to derive its light from the main door and the window over it, must have been intolerably dismal, especially if a covered vestibule shut off most of the light from the front door.

In the country and sometimes even in town the problem was solved by building the house round an open court. Most of the tombs, however, imply that the atrium, not the court, was the center. This was probably a later arrangement, developing under more crowded conditions.

In general, there was no large central aperture in the roof of the atrium. Was there no other means of introducing light and no other place for a compluvium? There must have been, for an important passage in Aulus Gellius (x. 15. 8; cf. Servius on *Aen.* ii. 57) proves the existence of such an opening in very early times. Gellius says: "Ignem e 'flaminia,' id est flaminis Dialis domo, nisi sacrum efferri ius non est; vincutum, si aedes eius introierit, solvi necessum est et vincula per impluvium in tegulas subduci atque inde foras in viam dimitti."

In the tombs of Falerii, a site where Etruscan and Latin influences met, and so valuable as giving a suggestion of possible Roman usage, Dennis² found

one general idea prevailing, characteristic of the site. Unlike those of Sutri, where the door opens at once into the tomb, it here leads into a

¹ *N.S.* (1895), 274, and (1898), 82.

² I, 93.

small ante-chamber, seldom as much as five feet square, which has an oblong hole in the ceiling, running up like a chimney to the level of the ground above. . . . The chimney in the ceiling of the antechamber probably served several purposes—as a *spiramen*, or vent-hole, to let off the effluvium of the decaying bodies or burnt ashes—as a means of pouring in libations to the Manes of the dead—and as a mode of entrance on emergency after the doors

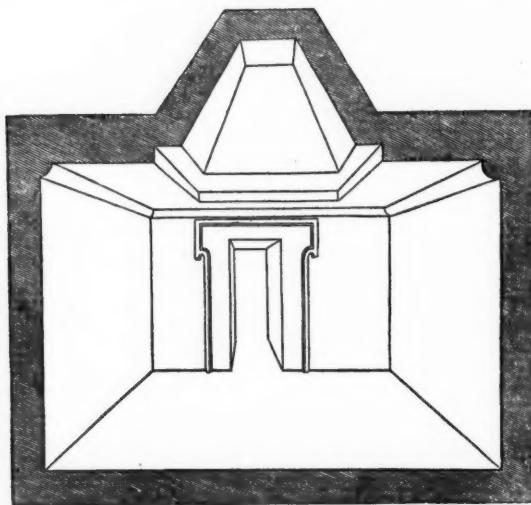


FIG. 4.—Inner chamber with roof of the displuviate type (Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, Fig. 85).

were closed. That they were used for the latter purpose is evident, for in the sides of these chimneys may be seen small niches, . . . manifestly cut for the hands and feet.¹

On p. 328, Dennis mentions traces of a similar entrance before the Grotta del Tifone at Corneto.

For a means of ventilation, for entrance, or for pouring in libations, an opening in the main chamber would have answered better than one in the vestibule. The frequency of the occurrence of such openings would render them useless as secret entrances. Such a fashion seems like an attempt to imitate part of the dwelling-house.

¹ Cf. also *Mon. Ant.*, IV, 531 f., 543; and Benedetti, *Scavi di Narce*, 26 and 42. For a somewhat similar type, evidently influenced, like these, by the well-tombs, cf. *N.S.* (1900), 563. None of these references is so definite as the one quoted from Dennis. Perhaps some of the remains he saw have since been destroyed.

There are traces, too, of openings in other rooms. *N.S.* (1884), 219, mentions a tomb near Viterbo on the site of the Etruscan Musarna, which contained two spacious chambers. In the center of the nearly level vault of the inner room was an opening 1.80×0.90 m. which led up to the surface of the ground. Steps for descent were carved in its sides and it may therefore have been intended

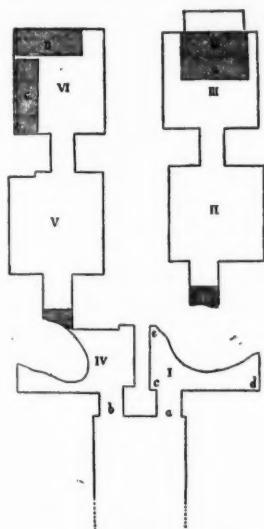


FIG. 5.—Plan of tomb (Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, Fig. 84).

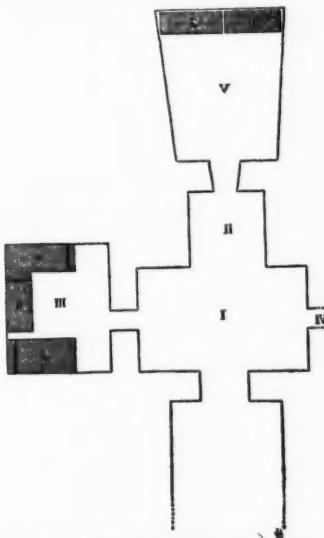


FIG. 6.—Plan of tomb (Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, Fig. 79). Rooms I, III, V show in their ceilings imitations of the king-beam; IV could not be entered. The ceiling of II contains a single caisson.

merely for entrance. Similar doubts must always occur in the case of a real opening.

Far better, therefore, than an actual aperture would be a simulated one. The original significance of such an imitation would, however, be easily forgotten and it would tend to develop into a mere decoration. Sometimes, as in the tomb at Chiusi pictured in *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, V, Pl. XXXII, 4 and 6, one finds in an inner chamber a roof with one plain caisson in the center. Sometimes, as at Vulci in Chamber V of Tomb CXXXVI, an oval cartouche appears in the inmost square. Or, as in the François tomb

at Chiusi (*Mon. dell' Ist.*, V, Pl. XIV, 3), an ornamental design appears in the caisson; or in the cartouche, as in the back chamber of the tomb of the Volumnii at Perugia (see below, p. 130).

All these forms of decoration may have originated in an endeavor to imitate a simple roof-opening in a back or side chamber. A single caisson, as I have said,¹ never occurs in a central chamber. Lastly, in one instance, at Vulci,² a sort of trunkated pyramid rises from the center of an inner chamber. Here we have an adaptation of the displuviate type, but not in the roof of an atrium.³

VI

Here again it will be satisfactory if actual houses confirm what we have assumed from the construction of the tombs. Of the houses of the "earliest" period at Pompeii, Fiorelli says:

They inclose an area of not less than 87, nor more than 328 square meters, covered by a testudinate roof, under which appears a single atrium which sometimes has on one side, more rarely on both sides, two or three smaller rooms. *It is always, however, without an impluvium, the roof being entirely closed at the top.* And here it is worth while remarking that the impluviums of these atriums are not contemporary with the walls, but constructed in Nocera stone; from which one may infer that the dark dwelling of the first period was lighted within, at a later epoch, by an opening made in the roof. . . .⁴

¹ See above, p. 118.

² Gsell, Fig. 85=Fig. 4, above.

³ Frothingham, *Roman Cities*, Pl. XX, gives a cut of this room (II) and of Chamber II of Tomb CXXXIV and calls both "main halla." Why, I fail to see. Cf. the plans here reproduced, Figs. 5 and 6, above.

⁴ *Gli Scavi di Pompeii dal 1861 al 1872*, Introd., p. xii: "Esse circoscrivono un'area, non minore di 87, né maggiore di 328 metri quadrati coperta da un tetto testudinato, sotto cui trovasi un solo atrio . . . il quale talvolta ha da una parte due o tre stanze minori, più raramente da entrambi i lati, ma sempre è privo d'impluvio, essendo il tetto chiuso interamente nel culmine." E qui giovi avvertire, che gli'impluvii di questi atrii non sono contemporanei delle mura, ma costruiti in pietra di Nocera; da cui s'inferisce che la casa fuliginosa della prima età fu internamente rischiarata da un'apertura praticata nel tetto in epoca più tarda. . . . Fiorelli's "earliest" period is Mau's second period, usually called the period of the limestone atriums. When the impluviums were added is of course extremely hard to determine. The whole period of the limestone atriums was the time of the Etruscan domination. Architecturally, the Etruscan influence lasted long after Etruscan rule over the city ended toward the close of the fifth century. Mau places the *terminus ante quem* of the architectural epoch at 200 B.C. For at least half a century before that date, however, Greek fashions must have been growing more and more common and with these Greek fashions, as I hope to show, the introduction of the impluvium was connected.

Fiorelli finds seventy of these houses in the city. There are, moreover, a few houses in Pompeii which still represent the earlier conditions. In Mau (ed. 1908, p. 362) mention is made of a house

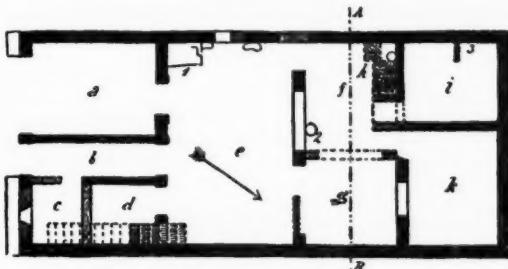


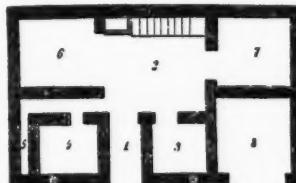
FIG. 7.—Plan of house without compluvium (*Mau, Pompeii*, 2d German edition, Fig. 192).

without a compluvium, of which the plan is here reproduced.¹ *e* represents the atrium, which had no compluvium and was originally lighted by a window and door at the back. These gave on an open court including all the space now occupied by *f* and *g*. Opposite the court was another small division of the house, containing *k* and *i*. This reminds one of the arrangements at Marzabotto. The kitchen was at one time in *i* and the atrium was then probably used as a living-room. Ultimately, the atrium apparently lost its importance as the principal room of the family and the kitchen-hearth was moved into one corner of it. In one half of the open court was built a room (*g*) which perhaps became the most important apartment of the house. To secure light to the atrium, the family, instead of constructing a compluvium, allowed the other part of the court (*f*) to remain open as a light-well. In one corner, a cistern (2) collected the rainwater.

Overbeck² mentions two more small houses whose builders attacked the problem of lighting in a somewhat similar way. Fig. 8,

¹ See Fig. 7, above.

² *Pompeii*, 270 ff.



a house which is assigned to the earliest period of the Roman colony (80 B.C.), shows a compluvium in the very back of the atrium (2), whose roof has no opening in the center.

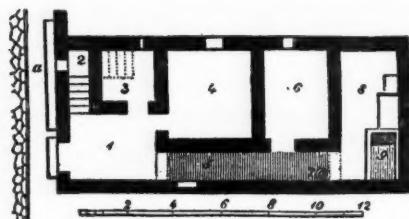


FIG. 9.—Plan of house with compluvium at the rear (Overbeck, *Pompeii*, Fig. 147).

The house in Fig. 9 did not need a light-shaft because rooms 3, 4, and 6 looked directly into the gardens of Sallust and could be illuminated from there. It sloped toward the back until at 8 we

find a space, half garden, half kitchen, with a compluvium (9) in one corner which furnished light to the dark passage (5).

VII

Does the history of the light-wells end here? We have seen that the Etruscan tombs and the existing Pompeian houses imply nothing like the rigidity of plan which handbooks would have us assume as characteristic of the Roman house. Nevertheless, some sepulchers reproduce the main parts of the conventional Roman dwelling, and of these sepulchers perhaps the most noted is the tomb of the Volumnii at Perugia. Here we have atrium, alae, tablinum, and side-chambers. On the inner side of the entrance-wall, a round shield is represented on the gable and a corresponding one on the back wall of the atrium over the entrance to the tablinum. May not such a decoration have its origin in the disks which close the gable-windows of the huts? The tablinum, as I have remarked above (p. 128), is decorated with a coffer, in the center of which is a Medusa-head. In each of the alae is a corresponding coffer, each decorated with a female head. The possible function of the alae as a means of lighting the atrium has long been recognized,¹ though not the probability that

¹ Mau, *Pompeii* (1908), 264 f. Too much emphasis is generally laid on the supposed religious importance of the alae. In the first place, they have no fixed position. Sometimes they are found in the middle of the side-walls of the atrium, sometimes there is only one, sometimes none at all. The name was not necessarily restricted to recesses round the atrium, for in two inscriptions (*C.I.L.*, XIV, 4183, and IX, 3523)

the light in city-houses came usually through an aperture in the roof such as is suggested by the coffers in the tomb of the Volumnii. I would propose a similar function for the tablinum.

My idea would be that the Etruscan house, after the hut-stage, was, like the Greek house, built round a large open court. Such houses had no very definite plan; but there was one main room which contained the hearth and was lighted by a door giving on the court and a small window over it. This door could be kept almost constantly open as a street-door could not. As conditions of living grew more congested and safer, so that the older arrangement was no longer possible or necessary, the court disappeared. The main room, now isolated, developed a door toward the street and rooms on the sides. The old opening in the back now formed the entrance into all that was left of the court, a light-shaft furnishing light to the atrium. In this shaft we may recognize the earliest form of the tablinum.¹ Sometimes, a light-shaft might also be constructed in a vestibule or in an ala. The windows, real or simulated, in the walls of the "atria" of Etruscan tombs do not, therefore, necessarily

alae are mentioned in connection with a portico. The *imagines*, when there were any, were far more often to be found in the heart of the ancient house, the atrium, than in the alae. Vitruvius is the only authority who speaks of the alae in connection with the *imagines* (vi. 3. 6). Writers who mention the *imagines* incidentally and who are therefore far more valuable witnesses, invariably speak of them as *in atrio*. So Juvenal viii. 19; Pliny *N.H.* xxxv. 6; Ovid *Fasti* i. 591; *Amor.* i. 8. 65; Martial ii. 90. 6; v. 20. 5-7; Seneca *ad Polyb.* xiv. 3.

¹ In discussing the origin of the tablinum, the famous passage from Varro *ap. Non.* 83 is generally taken as authoritative. This passage, "ad focum hieme ac frigoribus cenitabant; aestivo tempore loco propatulo; rure in chorte; in urbe in tabulino, quod maenianum possumus intellegere tabulis fabricatum," certainly implies that the tablinum in city-houses took the place of the courtyard of the *villa rustica*. One would like to be sure, first, whether Varro was certain of his facts or whether the words *possumus intellegere* do not imply rather a conjecture; and second, whether he is using *maenianum* in its strict sense, or whether he uses it loosely because his mind is diverted by the verbal connection between *tabula* and *tablinum*. *Maenianum* is too often translated "summer-house" and we are given to understand that it was a kind of rustic lean-to. Of course it can mean nothing but *balcony*, and, if it is accurately used, we must conceive the tablinum as originally a balcony placed over the door from the atrium into the court, or a veranda opening from the atrium. When, owing to the congestion of neighboring houses, the court disappeared, the balcony would in some degree compensate for its loss, and, when houses in the city became still more crowded, the loggia would develop into a light-shaft. At times a loggia could be inclosed by shutters to form a second-story room. Recently a "sort of impluvium pensile" has been discovered in a balcony. See *Classical Journal*, IX, 105.

imply that the inner rooms are thought of as lighted from the main chamber. Usually the atrium was lighted from the inner rooms.

After a time, a change in house-construction was introduced. This dated from the adoption of the Greek peristyle.¹ Diodorus (v. 40) tells us that the Etruscans realized the advantages of the peristyle, and the fact that their own houses had originally been built round an open court would lead them more readily to adopt it. Then the light-shaft at the back became merely a means of entrance from atrium to peristyle, and the atrium itself, once the main room, became merely a vestibule.²

All that it now needed was light and space. There was no need to avoid draughts, for the hearth had been removed from it. It therefore developed an aperture in the roof of the *displuviate* type. The change would be easy if people had before been accustomed to an aperture in the roof of an ante-chamber, for this was virtually what the atrium had now become. This fashion probably lasted only a short time and perhaps never penetrated as far south as Campania, for we find no examples of it at Pompeii, though two wall-paintings there are said to represent it.³

The discomfort of passers-by would soon make this shape impossible and necessitate some less projecting form of roof whence the rainwater was not conducted into the street.⁴

Sometime between the First and the Second Punic Wars, I should date the invention of the Tuscan atrium, which Vitruvius

¹ One may doubt whether ordinary houses in a crowded city like Rome usually possessed a peristyle. It is noticeable that the House of Livia on the Palatine has none.

² Gellius XVI. 5: "Pleraque sunt vocabula, quibus vulgo utimur, neque tamen liquido scimus quid ea proprie atque vere significant . . . sicuti est 'vestibulum.' Animadvertis enim quosdam hautquaquam indoctos viros opinari 'vestibulum' esse partem domus priorem, quam vulgus 'atrium' vocat." Cf. also Paul. Fest. 13.

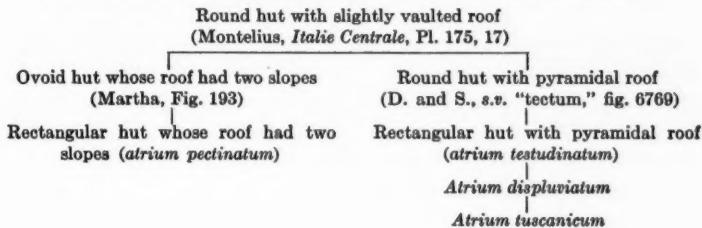
³ In the Casa dei Capitelli Dipinti and in the Casa dei Dioscuri. See Dennis, I, 392. It is hard to identify any such frescoes in the houses themselves, and I have not been able to find copies.

⁴ Vitruv. vi. 3. 2 mentions a further disadvantage of this type. Water was likely to collect and stagnate in the pipes used for conducting it from the roof, a process which rotted the walls.

mentions first, not because it was the oldest, but because it, and its developed forms, the tetrastylum and the corinthium, were the types with which he was most familiar.¹

ROCKFORD COLLEGE

¹ For convenience I add here a tentative "genealogy" of the Tuscan atrium:



DOCUMENTARY FRAUDS IN LITIGATION AT ATHENS

BY GEORGE MILLER CALHOUN

Athenian counsel¹ did not enjoy the advantage conferred upon their Roman brethren by ponderous legal verbiage and an intricate array of technical minutiae, which are now more than ever the palladium of the legal profession.² But this loss was perhaps more than compensated by the peculiar opportunities for the exercise of shrewdness and dexterity which the Athenian judicial system afforded. Like his modern ectype, the Athenian lawyer was prone to justify the means by the end, and all too often both counsel and client had recourse to tactics which it is hard to harmonize with the ethical standards of the mere layman.³

When we consider the important part which written instruments played in the business operations of the Athenians and consequently in the lawsuits to which these operations not infrequently gave rise, it is not difficult to perceive that no slight proportion of the questionable practices resorted to by litigants must have been concerned with documents. Without subscribing to the extremely pessimistic estimate of Greek character which underlies the statement of Polybius that with "ten checking-clerks, as many seals, and twice as many witnesses," Greek statesmen cannot act honestly when intrusted with no more than a talent,⁴ and without taking the allegations of interested parties at their face value, we may yet conclude that documentary frauds were not uncommon at Athens. It is impossible to say with precision how much truth is contained in the specific

¹ The expression "Athenian counsel" is not intended to suggest the existence in Athens of a recognized bar, but is a convenient way of referring to the skilled speech-writers and advocates, and the professional "pettifoggers" (*συκοφάνται*), who aided litigants and either exacted a fee for their services or were recompensed in some indirect manner (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2, 9, 4 ff.; see Bonner, *Evidence*, 11-12, and my *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*, 87, 80-81, 95-96).

² For the Roman period, Cicero *Pro Murena* 25 ff. The absurd complexities of modern legal systems are a fruitful topic of discussion in our bar associations.

³ Cf. *Athenian Clubs*, 40 ff.

⁴ 6, 56 (Shuckburgh). See Bonner, "The Use and Effect of Attic Seals," *CP*, III (1908), 405.

charges found in the orators and how common were the practices described. But we can gain a pretty clear idea of the nature and intent of such frauds.¹

Wills.—Athenian law permitted a citizen to dispose of his property by testamentary conveyance, under certain restrictions,² and in inheritance cases wills were often put in evidence. A common charge with the orators is that a will has been forged by the person or persons claiming under it. In the course of the litigation between Apollodorus, the son of Pasion, and Phormion, the former repeatedly asserts that the alleged will of Pasion produced by Amphias is a forgery, and that in fact Pasion made no will at all.³ Hagnon and Hagnatheus, claimants for the estate of Nicostratus, denounce as a forgery the document presented by Chariades and purporting to be the will of Nicostratus.⁴ The alleged will of Astyphilus, by the terms of which the son of his cousin Cleon succeeded to his estate, was attacked as a forgery by his half-brother.⁵ Diocles is charged with having defrauded his half-sisters of their patrimony by forging a will in which he was adopted by his stepfather.⁶ In none of these instances is the attack upon the will entirely convincing, according to our modern standards.⁷ There are, however, cases in which the assailants made good their charges of forgery before the courts. The second of the two alleged wills of Dicaeogenes, son of Menexenus, by the terms of which his cousin Dicaeogenes, son of Proxenus, claimed the whole of his estate,⁸ was virtually repudiated as a forgery by the court, when Lycon, one of the witnesses to the instrument, was found guilty of perjury.⁹ The invalidation of the will was not completed, however, as Dicaeogenes succeeded in arranging a settlement and arresting the proceedings against his other witnesses.¹⁰ The alleged will of Hagnias, by which his estate was conveyed to his

¹ On the caution which it is necessary to observe in drawing inferences from the orators and the kinds of information for which they can be used, cf. *Athenian Clues*, 41–42, and the references to Wyse, *Isaeus*, and Kennedy, *Demosthenes*, there given.

² [Dem.] 44. 68; 46. 14; Isaeus 6. 28. See *MSL*, 593; Beauchet, III, 672 ff., and Ziebarth in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Enc.*, s.v. “διαθήκη.”

³ Dem. 45 *passim*, especially 5, 8 ff., 22, 27–29; [Dem.] 46. 12 ff. The circumstances of the case do not seem to bear out the charges of Apollodorus (cf. Wyse on Isaeus 6. 28). For Phormion's defense of the will, cf. Dem. 36. 33 ff.

⁴ Isaeus 4. 1, 15 ff. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 9. 2, 7 ff. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 8. 40. ⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 144.

⁸ Isaeus 5. 6–7. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 12; cf. Beauchet, III, 661. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

niece, and, in the event of her death before majority, to his uterine brother Glaucon, was attacked as a forgery by relatives and was set aside by the court.¹ After allowance is made for the prejudice of the speakers, there seems yet to be a good deal of truth in the statement that wills were often forged at Athens.² The forgery might be limited to an insertion or substitution in a genuine document,³ a proceeding which was made less dangerous by the circumstance that often the contents of wills were not communicated to witnesses.⁴

Wills might be fraudulently concealed or made away with by those to whose interest it was to prevent their provisions from being carried out. Apollodorus has the assurance to tell a jury that, if he had believed the document left in the possession of Cephisophon to be his father's will and adverse to his own interests, he would have seized and suppressed it before the trial of his suit against Phormion.⁵ In two cases, administrators of estates suppress wills in order to defraud wards. The guardians of Demosthenes refused to produce the will under which they had administered his father's estate, although they could not, of course, deny its existence.⁶ Demosthenes was accordingly put to some pains to establish by a series of depositions the amount due him from the estate. Diogiton, administrator of the estate of Diodotus, concealed the will and memoranda of loans left in his care, got possession by a subterfuge of the sealed copies which

¹ [Dem.] 43. 4; cf. *hypothesis* 1. See also Isaeus 11. 8 ff.; Beauchet, III, 667. Theopompus, the speaker of Isaeus 11, is accused by Sositheus ([Dem.] 43. 4) of having been in league with Glaucon and Glaucon. It is manifestly to the interest of Theopompus to keep the pronouncement of the court that the will was a forgery in the background, since one of his reproaches against Phylomache and her friends is their lack of respect for the wishes of Hagnias (Isaeus 11. 9).

² Isaeus 1. 41: διαθήκας δ' ήδη πολλοὶ ψευδεῖς ἀπέφηναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράταν οὐ γενομένας, ἔνια δ' οὐδὲν διεβούλευμένων. Cf. also 4. 12-14 and 7. 2.

³ Isaeus 4. 13: τοῦ δὲ συμβαινοντός ἐστι καὶ γραμματεῖον διλαγῆται καὶ τάνατι τοῦ τεθνεῶτος διαθῆκαις μεταγραφῆται. Cf. Wyse's note *ad loc.*

⁴ *Loc. cit.*; cf. [Dem.] 46. 28. See Wyse on Isaeus 4. 13, and Bonner, *Evidence*, 61. For the opposite view, cf. Dem. 45. 13.

⁵ Dem. 45. 21-22: πῶς οὐδὲ ἀνηρήμην αὐτὴν ἔγω, συνεδὼ μὲν ἔμαντς μελλοντι δικάζεσθαι, συνεδὼ δ' ὑπεναντίαν οὖσαν, εἴπερ ἦν τοιαντή, τοῖς ἔμαντῷ συμφέρουσι, κληρονόμος δ' ὁ καὶ ταύτης, εἴπερ ἦν τοῦμοῦ πατέρος, καὶ τῶν δλλων τῶν πατρόφων ὅμοιως; with Sandys's note. Although ἀνηρήμην is intended to suggest the legitimate "retraction" of a document, we can hardly believe that Apollodorus had the right to make away with the will.

⁶ Dem. 27. 40-41, 44, 48, 64; 28. 5-6, 10; 29. 42.

had been left with the widow of Diodotus, and attempted to defraud the heirs of all but a trifle of the large property.¹ Unfortunately for the success of his scheme, the young sons (or slaves) of the deceased Diodotus found and carried to the widow an account book which had been carelessly mislaid or thrown away. This proved that he had collected over seven talents owing to the estate on bottomry loans, and other minor sums, the whole amounting to nearly ten talents.²

Other private documents.—Written agreements and contracts, account books, and letters were not infrequently offered as evidence of transactions,³ and there are a number of cases in which these are alleged to have been forged. Apollodorus asserts that the lease of Pasion's bank and shield manufactory put in evidence by Phormion⁴ is, like the will, a forgery.⁵ In the speech against Callicles the defendant is charged with having once persuaded a cousin to bring suit for the property of the son of Tisias on the strength of an agreement which was repudiated by the court as a forgery.⁶ A most interesting case in connection with a criminal action is described in the speech *On the Murder of Herodes*. The defendant states that the persons who are charging him with the slaying concocted and "planted" at the scene of the murder a letter purporting to have been written by himself to his friend Lycinus, in which he stated that he had killed Herodes. This bit of evidence was manufactured after the first slave examined by torture had failed to incriminate the defendant, when the case against him seemed about to collapse.⁷ The speaker's account of the proceeding is reasonable and convincing.⁸

Genuine agreements and accounts, like wills, might be fraudulently altered, or forged papers might be substituted for the genuine. In the *Trapeziticus* of Isocrates, the speaker asserts that the banker

¹ Lys. 32. 5 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 14 ff.

³ Cf. Bonner, *Evidence*, 61 ff.

⁴ Dem. 36. 4.

⁵ Dem. 45. 5, 29 ff., 47.

⁶ Dem. 55. 31: *συνθήκας οὐ γεομένας ἀπήγεγκε*; cf. *ibid.*, 2: *τῆς τούτων σκευωρίας*. The language here used makes it fairly certain that the alleged contract was not an oral one.

⁷ Ant. 5. 53–56.

⁸ The letter evidently existed, for it had been made public in the course of the inquiry (cf. 56: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεγνώσθη τὸ γραμματεῖδιον . . . οὐκέτι οἶλν τ' ήν ἀφανίσαι τὰ διαγγωσθέντα*). The arguments against its genuineness seem conclusive (53 ff.).

Pasion, through his tool Pythodorus, fraudulently altered the terms of an agreement which had been deposited with Pyron of Pherae, so that the document, when opened and read in the presence of witnesses, was a release from all claims on the part of the plaintiff, quite the opposite of the original instrument.¹ Pythodorus, who is depicted as an expert in documentary fraud,² accomplished his purpose by bribing the slaves of Pyron who had the document in charge.³ The speaker assures the jury that such frauds have often been committed in the past.⁴ His statement is borne out by the precautions which it was considered necessary to observe in other cases. In *Callistratus v. Olympiodorus*, the plaintiff had proposed that they open jointly the agreement in question, which had been deposited with Androclides, make copies, and put one copy into the echinus, in order that there might be no suspicion of fraud.⁵ Parmenon, in his litigation with Apaturius, relied upon the testimony of his slave-secretary to expose any fraud which might have been practiced in connection with an arbitration agreement which the slave had written down.⁶

Documents of this kind could also be concealed or destroyed, in order that they might not be produced as evidence. Apollodorus asserted that Phormion, with the collusion of his wife, the mother of Apollodorus, made away with the accounts of Pasion.⁷ This charge, like that regarding the will and the lease, does not carry conviction.⁸ However, the fraudulent destruction of papers was not uncommon. Aristocles, to whom an arbitration agreement between Apaturius and Parmenon had been intrusted, suppressed the document at the instigation of the former and his friend Eryxias, and asserted that his slave had fallen asleep and lost the paper.⁹ The guardians of Demosthenes, with the connivance of Xuthus, destroyed the terms of agreement under which the latter had received a bottomry loan of seventy minas from the estate, and all other documentary evidence of the transaction, in order to defraud their ward.¹⁰ In the speech

¹ 23: πελσας τοῦ ξένου τοὺς παιᾶς διαφθείρει τὸ γραμματεῖον; 31, 33-34: τὶ δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ γραμματεῖδιον παρ' αὐθρώπῳ ξένῳ κειμενον τοσαύτα μέλλοντες χρήματα κερδαίνειν μετέγραψαν, ή τοὺς παιᾶς αὐτοῦ πελσαντες ή δλλῳ τρόπῳ, φέ ηδύναντο, μηχανησάμενοι;

² *Ibid.*, 33 ff.; cf. Bonner, *Seals*, 405.

⁵ [Dem.] 48. 48.

⁸ [Dem.] 33. 16 ff., 35 ff., *hypothesis* 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 23, 34.

⁷ Dem. 36. 18 ff.

¹⁰ Dem. 29. 36; cf. 27. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

against Diogiton, it is charged that the defendant got into his possession and suppressed the contracts and accounts of Diodotus' transactions, as well as the will, when he attempted to defraud the widow and heirs.¹ Virtually the same kind of fraud is found in the removal of tablets from mortgaged property,² and the concealment of a banker's slave who has knowledge of a deposit,³ as the intent in both cases is to destroy the evidence of the transactions with a view to repudiating the obligations.

A proceeding which did not involve technical fraud and which sometimes proved effective was to trick an opponent into signing a document after hearing it read and without carefully looking it over. The plaintiff in *Epocrates(?) v. Athenogenes* was duped in this manner,⁴ and the nephews of Dicaeogenes fell into the same snare.⁵ Nicobulus, plaintiff in a paragraphe against Pantaenetus, tells us at some length how the defendant tricked him into sealing a challenge, hurriedly, after merely hearing it read. To his chagrin, the written document, when produced by Pantaenetus, contained quite different terms from those he had heard read.⁶

Depositions and ecmartyriae.—Since depositions did not purport to be written by the deponents themselves,⁷ and the written statements were of value as evidence only after they had been attested before the court, there was nothing to be gained and possibly much to lose⁸ by forging depositions. However, after the document had been attested, the witness was held strictly responsible for the statements it contained. His protection against fraud lay in the fact that the deposition was read to him by the clerk of the court,⁹ and presumably was carefully guarded by that official if notice was given of

¹ Lys. 32, 7 ff.

² [Dem.] 49, 12.

³ Isoc. 17, 11 ff. Transactions with banks apparently often took place without witnesses or written papers, and were proved if necessary by the slaves of the banker (*ibid.*, 53; cf. the transactions in [Dem.] 49); the slave here was practically the equivalent of a document.

⁴ Hyp. *ag. Ath.* 8 ff.

⁵ Isaues 5, 25.

⁶ Dem. 37, 39 ff.; cf. Sandys and Paley, notes *ad loc.*; Kennedy, IV, 237 ff.; *Athenian Clubs*, 94.

⁷ MSL, 884 ff.

⁸ The statement in court by a witness that a deposition has been falsely ascribed to him, or that one which he has written has been changed, could not fail to affect the jury.

⁹ Cf. Bonner, *Evidence*, 54.

a prosecution for perjury.¹ Nowhere do we find an official accused of conniving at the misreading or alteration of a deposition.

A clever fraud in connection with a deposition is ascribed to Stephanus. We are told that at the arbitration of *Apollodorus v. Phormion* he slyly filched one of the plaintiff's depositions when the latter had risen to swear a witness, and the document was consequently not sealed up in the echinus.² Apollodorus was thus prevented from producing it before the jury which tried his case on appeal, and was deprived of an important piece of evidence.³

In the case of ecmartyriae, or extrajudicial depositions, there was an opportunity for forgery or fraudulent alteration, with the connivance of the attesting witnesses. To guard against any suspicion of improper practice, it was customary for these depositions to be taken in the presence of a large number of thoroughly reputable witnesses.⁴ In the litigation over the estate of Pyrrhus, Nicodemus and Xenocles are alleged to have introduced a forged ecmartyria, purporting to be from Pyretides, which was attested by two witnesses. Pyretides afterward repudiated the document privately.⁵

Official documents.—Court papers, public records and registers, laws, and other documents of an official or quasi-official character seem occasionally to have been fraudulently altered or made away

¹ Dem. 45. 44-45: διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ νόμος μαρτυρεῖ ἐν γραμματείῳ κελεύει, ἵνα μήτ' ἀφελεῖν ἔχῃ μήτε προσθέναι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις μηδέν. . . . ἔπειτα καὶ τόδε σκοτεῖτε, εἰ ἔσσαιται Ἀνταρτὸν ὑμῶν ἐκεῖ προσγράψαι τι λαβθέτε τὸ γραμματεῖον. In general official records seem not to have been kept of judicial proceedings (Bonner, *Evidence*, 60). But a litigant who intended to prosecute witnesses of his opponent for perjury was required to give notice of his intention in open court before the voting began (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 35. 10 ff.; cf. Bonner, *op. cit.*, 89). There can be little doubt that the depositions challenged were preserved by the clerk in order to prevent fraud, for on no other supposition can we account for the procedure in prosecutions for perjury. In Plato's *Laws* (937B), the officials keep the *ἐπισκῆψεις*, sealed by both parties. The witness was held strictly accountable for all statements contained in the deposition (Dem. 45. 8 ff., 44-45), which was appended to the posted pleadings (Dem. 45. 46; 29. 11), and was not established by witnesses, but treated by both prosecution and defense as incontrovertible evidence of what the witness deposed (e.g., Dem. *oratt.* 45, [46, 47], 29; Isaeus *orat.* 3. I omit mere formal prosecutions for perjury in διαμαρτυρίᾳ cases.). In *Apollodorus v. Stephanus*, the clerk reads (Dem. 45. 8) evidently from the original document in his possession ([Dem.] 46. 11 ff.).

² Dem. 45. 57 ff.; [46. 25].

³ In arbitration cases which were appealed, new evidence could be filed after the arbitration only under very exceptional circumstances (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 53. 3; cf. Bonner, *Evidence*, 53).

⁴ Isaeus 3. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 ff.

with by the magistrates who had them in charge or even by private citizens. The plaintiff in *Nicostratus v. Pantaenetus*, a paragraphe, alleges that one of the sections has been erased from his pleading; how this was effected, it is for the jurors to consider. The implication is that the erasure has been made with the connivance of officials.¹ Interesting in this connection is the comical plan of Strepsiades in the *Clouds*, to stand behind the clerk of the court with a burning-glass and "melt out" the record as the official enters it on the tablets.²

There are several allusions to tampering with public records. Leostratus is said to have exerted influence on the demarch of Otryne³ and on a member of the phratry to which Archiades had belonged⁴ to get improper entries made in the registers of those organizations. Lysias tells us that it was easy for anyone who wished to do so to get his name erased from the register of those who had served in the cavalry under the Thirty, apparently with the connivance of the official who had the document in charge.⁵ The account of the law ἀγραφίου contained in the speech *Against Theocrites* suggests that the names of state debtors were sometimes improperly expunged from the official lists.⁶ Aristophanes alludes to fraudulent juggling of the names on the hoplite-rolls by the officials who had them in charge as a common abuse.⁷ Antiphilus, who as demarch of the Halimusians kept the official register of the deme, is said to have concealed it and then to have pretended that it had been lost, in order that he and his associates might attack certain members of the deme in the διαψήφισις that followed.⁸ It is said

¹ Dem. 37. 34.

² 764 ff. Cf. the story in Athenaeus 407C.

³ [Dem.] 44. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵ 16. 7; cf. Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities* (London, 1895), 321, n. 1, and the notes of Thalheim and Adams *ad loc.*

⁶ [Dem.] 58. 51 ff.; cf. MSL, 447 ff.

⁷ *Knights* 1369–70:

Ἐπειδὴ ὄπλητης ἐντεθεὶς ἐν καταλόγῳ
οὐδεὶς κατὰ σπουδὰς μετεγγράφησεται.

Cf. *Peace* 1179 ff.:

δρῶσιν οὐκ ἀνασχετά,
τοὺς μὲν ἐγγράφοντες ἡμῶν τοὺς δ' ἀνω τε καὶ κάτω
ἔξαλειφοντες οὐδὲ η τρὶς.

⁸ Dem. 57. 60; cf. 62.

that Nicomachus, when appointed a special commissioner to write out the laws of Solon, inserted some and struck out others in return for bribes. So flagrant did his frauds become that not infrequently the opposing parties to the same suit produced mutually contradictory laws.¹

Here may be mentioned the fraud perpetrated by Pythodorus, who opened the sealed urns containing names from which were to be drawn the judges of a dramatic or dithyrambic contest and removed the slips, evidently with the intention of substituting others.² Eubulides and his confederates chiselled out decrees in honor of his enemy Euxitheus.³

Miscellaneous frauds.—There are a number of allusions to documentary frauds of which the precise nature and intent are by no means clear. Protus, the corn merchant, is said to have stolen, or secretly opened, a document.⁴ Aristogiton is reproached with having attempted "to plunge everyone into confusion and strife by exhibiting false papers."⁵ On another occasion, it is said, he filched a pocketbook (or document) from a man of Tanagra, with what intention we are not told.⁶

Protection and proof of documents.—Attempts were made to protect private documents, and especially wills, in various ways.⁷ They were usually executed in the presence of witnesses,⁸ sealed,⁹ and deposited with reputable persons.¹⁰ Sometimes several copies were made and intrusted to different depositaries.¹¹ A measure of protection against alteration or substitution was afforded by the practice of having agreements, depositions, and other important papers written out by slave amanuenses, who would be able to expose

¹ Lys. 30. 2 ff., 11 ff. ² Isoc. 17. 33-34. ³ Dem. 57. 64. ⁴ Dem. 32. 28.

⁵ Dem. 25. 50. Ψευδὴ does not necessarily mean "forged," as is shown by Isaeus 1. 41 (cf. *supra*, p. 136. n. 2).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁷ As the protection of documents has been discussed by Bonner, *Seals*, and Wyse (note on Isaeus 4. 13), but few points will need more than passing mention.

⁸ [Dem.] 35. 13; 48. 11; Isaeus 6. 7; 9. 8, 12; Diog. Laert. 5. 57, 74.

⁹ Dem. 45. 17; [Dem.] 35. 15; 33. 36; 48. 48; Isaeus 7. 1; Hyp. 5. 8, 18; see, Bonner, *Seals*, 402 ff.

¹⁰ Dem. 45. 19; 32. 16; [Dem.] 35. 14; 48. 11-12, 48; 33. 15, 36; 34. 6; Isaeus 6. 7; 9. 5; Isoc. 17. 20; Hyp. 5. 9; Diog. Laert. 4. 44; 5. 57.

¹¹ Lys. 32. 7; Diog. Laert. 4. 44; 5. 57; Isoc. 7. 1.

frauds practiced upon documents which they had themselves written.¹ A precaution sometimes taken in making a will was the addition of solemn imprecations upon the person or persons who should violate its provisions.² However, since witnesses often did not know the content of documents,³ since seals could be counterfeited without great difficulty,⁴ and since there were no handwriting experts,⁵ the integrity of a document would seem oftentimes to have depended upon the somewhat precarious chance that the depository and his slaves were proof against bribery and persuasion.⁶ In the case of wills, the efficacy of imprecations may be doubted after the example of Apollodorus.⁷

These precautions against fraud, with the exception of imprecations, were at the same time means for establishing the authenticity of documents before a court. In actual practice, however, the production of original documents was not regarded as very important,⁸ and there are very few cases indeed in which the handwriting, the seals, or the appearance of an instrument are used directly as proof.⁹

¹ [Dem.] 33. 17: οὐ πέρω φάσκων εἶναι τὸν ἔλεγχον, εἰ τι κακουργοῦστο περὶ τὰ γράμματα· γεγράφεναι γὰρ αὐτὰ οἰκέτην ἐαυτοῦ. Dem. 29. 21: θέλον παραδῦναι τὸν ταῖς τὸν γράφοντα τὴν μαρτυρίαν, διό τα τε γράμματα ἔμελλε γνώσεσθαι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ.

² Dem. 36. 52: ἀναντία τη διαθήκη καὶ ταῖς διπτέραις ἁρπάζεις, γραφεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός. The language of Demosthenes makes it clear that the imprecations of Pasion were written into the will. While the document inserted in Dem. 45. 28 may be a fabrication, the absence of the imprecations does not prove it, for Apollodorus would be unwilling to have that part read to the jury.

³ *Supra*, p. 136.

⁴ Cf. Bonner, *Seals*, 400. Aristophanes, *Thes.* 424–25:

πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἦ δλλ' ἵποιξει τὴν θύραν
ποιησαμέναις δακτύλων τρωβόλου.

⁵ Bonner (*Evidence*, 80) has noticed the absence of expert evidence in regard to handwriting.

⁶ Pythodorus got access to a document which had been deposited with Pyron by bribing the latter's slaves, who were the actual custodians (Isoc. 17. 23, 33); cf. [Dem.] 33. 16.

⁷ *Supra*, pp. 135 ff.

⁸ Bonner, *Evidence*, 62.

⁹ In two instances it is suggested that a slave amanuensis will be able to recognize his own hand and say whether or not a document has been tampered with (Dem. 29. 21; [Dem.] 33. 17; cf. *supra*, n. 1). These cases have little in common with our modern use of handwriting as proof, and it is very unlikely that in either the question of the handwriting ever came before a court. Aristophanes alludes to the production in court of a will with its seals (*Wasps* 583 ff.), but the speeches in real cases scarcely mention seals (Dem. 45. 17). In only one instance is a document carefully examined with respect to its appearance, and here the object is to prove not its genuineness, of which there is no question, but the circumstances under which it was written ([Dem.] 46. 11 ff.).

In general the evidence of authenticity presented to the court is limited to the testimony of witnesses, and these sometimes depose to nothing more than the fact that a will or a contract has been executed or has been deposited with a certain person.¹ According to the standards of modern procedure, the means of proof employed were very inadequate, quite as unsatisfactory as were the precautions intended for the protection of documents. The result of the failure carefully to examine the actual instrument was that forgery was comparatively easy for anyone who could procure witnesses and compose a skilful argument from probability.

Attacks upon documents, as might be expected, are characterized by the same inattention to the material appearance and condition of the instrument in question, and show the same lack of direct evidence.² This, like the inadequate proof of documents, is largely a manifestation of Athenian habit and usage, and does not necessarily indicate that the charges of fraud are without foundation in fact. It is unreasonable to demand, with Mr. Wyse,³ that attacks upon documents be formulated with the precision and directness made possible and necessary by modern legal procedure. If we are to be consistent in this attitude, we must set the same unyielding standard for the proof of documents.

This persistent inattention to the actual instrument may be in part a survival from the time when writing had not yet superseded oral agreements and testaments.⁴ Its justification was the impossibility of close examination of documents by the members of large juries⁵ and the existence of a distinct feeling in favor of arguments based upon general equity.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

¹ Bonner, *Evidence*, 61 ff.; cf. [Dem.] 35. 14.

² For example, the argument against the genuineness of the contract in Isocrates 17. 23 ff.; the attack on Pasion's will in Dem. 45. 5-29; [46. 12 ff.], and the attacks on wills in Isaeus *oratt.* 4 and 9.

³ *Op. cit.*, 626, 631. Wyse has performed a useful service in protesting against a too confiding faith in the statements of Isaenus. But on this point I believe he does not make sufficient allowance for the difference between modern and ancient legal usage in the proving of documents.

⁴ Even in the time of Demosthenes, oral wills and contracts were valid in law (cf. *MSL*, 595).

⁵ Sositheus had intended to make a chart showing the family connections of Hagnias and to exhibit it to the jury, but gave up the idea because those in the rear would not be able to read it ([Dem.] 43. 18). If a chart could not be read by all, it would be hopeless to attempt an effective presentation of details of handwriting, etc.

GREEK AND LATIN ETYMOLOGIES

BY FRANCIS A. WOOD

1. Gr. *γλούτος* 'rump' is compared both by Prellwitz and Boisacq with MHG. *klöz* 'clump, clod, round mass.' The words are no doubt related though the consonants do not correspond. A better comparison would be OE. *clūd*, ME. *cloud* 'a mass of rock, hill,' *cloude* 'cloud,' NE. *clod* (cf. *MLN.* XV, 97). Here the *d* corresponds to Gr. *τ* : pre-Germ. **glūtō-*.

2. Gr. *γωνία* 'angle,' Skt. *jānu* 'knee' : Germ. **kōnu-* 'sharp, keen' in OE. *cēne*, ME. *kēne* 'sharp, bitter, bold,' NE. *keen*, OHG. *kuoni* 'kühn, audax, asper, acer,' etc. (*MLN.* XXII, 235 f.), is a comparison that ought not to have escaped Boisacq.

3. Gr. *δενδίλλω* 'turn the eyes about, give a glance at, make a sign to' is left unexplained by Boisacq, though he refers to the improbable combination given in Fick, I⁴, 461, and adopted by Prellwitz *s.v.*

This word, like many others, is a compound of two synonymous words or bases: **den-* 'turn, whirl,' Gr. *δονέω* 'shake, stir,' etc., + **dil-*: OE. *tilian* 'strive after,' OHG. *zilen* 'sich beeilen, eifrig streben nach,' refl. 'eine Richtung nehmen,' NHG. *zielen*, etc. (cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIV, 335). See No. 8.

Compare the similar development in other derivatives of the root **dl-*, **deiā-* : Gr. *διεπαι* 'speed, press on,' *δινέω* 'whirl, spin round, drive; wander,' ON. *tina* 'squint, blink'; MLG. *tiden* 'sich wohin begeben, zu etwas eilen; nach etwas begehen, hinstreben,' *betiden* refl. 'sich wornach richten, ins Auge fassen,' etc. (cf. No. 7); Lith. *dyréti* 'gucken, lauern, heranschleichen,' *dairytis* 'umhergaffen,' OPruss. *deirūt* 'sehen,' Norw. *tira* 'stieren, genau zusehen.'

4. Of Gr. *διοπαλίζω* 'swing, fling about' Boisacq *s.v.* says: "Étym. inconnue," making no reference to Prellwitz' statement in his second edition: "Zusammensetzung der Wurzeln von *δονέω* und *πάλλω*," which is the explanation given by me *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIV (1899), 335; *IE. a^x*, 66.

5. Gr. *δέννος* 'reproach, disgrace' (**δέρσων*) may have original IE. *d* : OHG. *zädal* 'Mangel,' MHG. *tadel* 'Fehler, Gebrechen,' a LG. word, whence NHG. *Tadel, tadeln*. For meaning and possible ultimate connection compare the root **dē-* in No. 11.

6. Ion. *δίζημαι* 'seek out, look for; seek after, try for; inquire; require, demand that' is derived from **didiā-*, and compared by some with Skt. *dīdēti* 'scheint, leuchtet,' by others with Skt. *dīyati* 'fliegt,' Gr. *δίεμαι* 'hasten' (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Et.*, 188 with lit., and Solmsen, *IF. XIV*, 433 f.).

The second is certainly the correct explanation. For *dīdēti* does not mean 'look, see,' but 'shine.'

The underlying root **deiā-* 'hasten, hasten after, strive after, search, seek, look for, look at' is also in the following.

7. Lesb. *ξάτημι*, Att. *ξητῶ*, Dor. *ξατεύω* 'seek, seek out; search out, inquire into; c. inf. seek to' (cf. as above), base **dīāt-*.

With these compare **deit-* or *dīt-* in MLG. *tiden* 'sich wohin begeben, zu etwas eilen; nach etwas begehrten, hinstreben,' *betiden* refl. 'sich wornach richten, ins Auge fassen,' MDu. *tiden* 'go, journey,' ON. *tīða* 'long for, wish,' 'trachten, streben,' *tīðr* 'frequent, usual, customary; noted, famous; dear, beloved; eager,' *tīðliga* 'eagerly, greedily,' OE. *tīdan* 'happen,' *tīd* 'time, period; proper time,' etc.

For meaning and for the formation of the Gr. words compare Aeol. **μάτημι* 'seek,' 2. sg. *μάτης, ματεῖ* · *ξητεῖ* Hes., Hom. *ματεύω*, which are derivatives of the root in *μαίομαι* 'seek; search, seek for.'

8. Gr. *ξάλη* 'surging of the sea, storm' may be from **dīəlā-*, and *ξῆλος* 'eager rivalry, emulation; any vehement passion, jealousy; emulous desire for a thing; the object of desire, happiness,' *ξηλόω* 'rival, vie with, imitate; envy; esteem happy, admire' from **dīālo-* (cf. Boisacq *s.v.* with lit.). If so, compare **dīl-* in OE. *tilian* 'strive after, intend, attempt; obtain, provide; till (land),' *getillan* 'attain, reach; touch,' *tilung* 'striving after; labor, employment; gain, produce; (medical) treatment, cure, help,' *tilia* 'cultivator of land, laborer,' OLG. *tilon* 'festinare, accelerare, exerceri, exercitari, in eifrigem ängstlichen Streben, in Hast und Aufregung sein,' OHG. *zilōn, zilen*, MHG. *zilen, ziln* 'zielen, ringen, streben; festmachen, einrichten, bestimmen; erzielen, bewirken, machen, zeugen,' *zil* 'Ziel; Bestimmung, Zweck, Absicht; festgesetzter Zeitpunkt, Ende,

Frist, Termin; abgegränzter Raum, Mass; Art und Weise,' OFries. *tilia* 'bebauen,' 'till,' MLG. *telen* 'erzeugen, gebären; bebauen,' MDu. *telen* 'bring forth, produce; till, cultivate; care for,' Du. *telen* 'zeugen, schaffen,' Goth. *til* 'Gelegenheit,' *gatilōn* 'erlangen,' OE. *til* 'serviceable, good; gentle, liberal,' sb. 'goodness, kindness,' Ir. *dil* 'gratus.'

Here also may belong OBulg. *dělo* 'Werk,' *dělati* 'arbeiten,' Russ. *dělo* 'Arbeit, Geschäft; Angelegenheit; Tat, Werk; Sache, Ding,' *dělat'* 'tun, machen, verrichten, anfertigen' (:MHG. *ziln* 'einrichten, bestimmen; erzielen, bewirken, machen, zeugen,' OE. *tilung* 'labor, employment,' 'Arbeit, Geschäft'),—*s'a* 'geschehen, werden' (:MLG. *telen* 'hervorbringen; intr. entstehen'), *děliny* 'tüchtig, brauchbar' (:OE. *til* 'competent, serviceable, good,' 'tüchtig, tauglich, gut'), *děl* 'Waldbienenstock, Höhlung, Furche im Bienenstock' (:Lett. *dějèle* 'Baum, worin ein Bienenstock ausgehölt ist oder ausgehölt werden kann,' *dějums* 'gehöhlter Bienenstock,' OHG. *zīdal-weida* 'Waldbezirk wo Bienenzucht getrieben wird,' *zīdalāri* 'Zeidler,' Gr. δῖνος 'Wirbel, Strudel; rundes Gefäß,' cf. author, *PBB.* XXIV, 533), Sloven. *dělati* 'arbeiten; verfertigen; tun,'—*njivo* 'das Feld bestellen' (:OFries. *tilia* 'bebauen'), etc. These are referred by Berneker, *Et. Wb.*, 194, to the root *dhē- in OBulg. *děti* 'legen,' *dějati* 'legen; verrichten,' etc., to which the words may in part belong. But even here there may have been an early confusion of *dhē- 'set, place' and *dejā- 'hasten, strive after, attain.'

9. Of Gr. δῆφας, -έω 'seek after, hunt for,' ἀστρο-δῆψης 'star-searcher, astronomer' Boisacq s.v. says: "Etym. obscure." There is no reason why these cannot be derived from the root *dejā- in the above. Compare ON., NIcel. *tifa* 'move the feet quickly, trip' (Goth. *tibōn), MHG. *zipfeln* 'in kleinen Ansätzen gehen, trappeln': Lett. *deiju* 'tanze, hüpfte,' Gr. δίεμαι 'speed, press on,' δῖνος 'whirl, eddy,' δινέω 'whirl, spin round; whirl about, esp. in the dance; wander, roam about.'

10. Gr. ζόφος 'darkness, gloom' may come from *diobhos 'commotion, storm,' ζέφυρος 'the west wind,' often represented as stormy and rainy, and as the swiftest of winds, *diebhuros 'swift, stormy': ζάψ· ζάλη.

For a different explanation see *AJPh.* XXI, 179: ζόφος from

**glibbos* ‘glimmer, gloom’ : Lith. *žaibas* ‘Blitz,’ *žibeti* ‘glänzen, schimmern,’ *žēbti* ‘ein wenig zu sehen vermögen,’ *žiburiūti* ‘flackern.’

11. Gr. *ξημία* ‘loss, damage, damnum; penalty, fine’ may also come from **dīā-m-*, but not from the root **dejā-* in Skt. *dīyati* ‘fliesgt,’ etc., but from **dīā-* ‘cut, tear’ : Skt. *dyáti* (*dāti*) ‘schneidet ab, trennt, teilt.’ Compare **dē-* ‘rend, tear’ in *δηλέομαι* ‘destroy,’ OHG. *zälēn*, -*ōn* ‘wegerissen, rauben,’ Lett. *dēlti* ‘quälen, martern’ (Prellwitz); OHG. *zādal* ‘Mangel, penuria, inopia, egestas,’ *zādalōn* ‘egere’; Skt. *dāpayati* ‘teilt,’ Gr. *δάπτω* ‘tear, devour,’ MLG. *teppen* ‘zupfen, pflücken,’ *tappen*, *tapen* ‘tappen; zupfen, reissen,’ ON. *tāpr* ‘scarce, scanty,’ *tapa* ‘lose; kill,’ *tape* ‘loss’ (**dəbon-*), Lat. *damnum* (**dəbnom*), *damnare* (cf. IE. *a²*, 67 f.).

12. Gr. *διδωμι*, Lat. *dō*, *dare*, etc., have a root **dō-* (:**də-*), which originally may have been the *ō-* grade of a root **dē-* or **dā-*. Such a root occurs in Skt *dāti* ‘schneidet ab, teilt,’ *dānám* ‘Verteilung, Teil’ (:*dōnum*, Skt. *dānam* ‘Gabe, Spende’), *dātu* ‘Teil’ (:Gr. *δοτίς* ‘gift’), *dātā* ‘abschneidend,’ *dātrám* ‘Verteilung, Anteil’ (:*dātā*, *dātā* ‘gebend, bes. zur Ehe, schenkend, zahlend, gewährend, mitteilend, lehrend, bewirkend, veranstaltend,’ sb. ‘Geber, Schenker’), Gr. *δávas* · *μερídas* Hes., *δávos* ‘money lent at interest, loan,’ *δaveīçw* ‘lend,’ cf. Boisacq s.v. with lit. (:Lith. *dūnis* ‘Gabe,’ OBulg. *danč* ‘Abgabe, Zoll,’ Russ. ‘Tribut, Abgabe, Steuer, Zins’), Skt. *dyáti* ‘schneidet ab,’ *dāyatē* ‘teilt, teilt zu; hat Anteil, hat Mitgefühl,’ Gr. *δালομαι* ‘distribute, portion out,’ *δালνυμ* ‘distribute, assign as a share,’ Skt. *dāyám* ‘Anteil, Erbteil, Erbschaft’ (:*dāya-h* ‘Gabe, Geschenk,’ OBulg. *dajati* ‘geben,’ *raz-dajati* ‘austeilen’; *raz-davati* ‘verteilen,’ Serb. *pro-dávati* ‘verkaufen’ : OBulg. *dati* ‘geben; lassen, zulassen,’ Russ. *dáča* ‘Geben, Auszahlen; Ration, Anteil,’ Sloven. *dáča* ‘Abgabe, Tribut,’ Skt. *dāti-h*, Gr. *δῶτις* ‘gift,’ etc.).

13. Gr. *δῶρον* ‘the breadth of the hand, span, palm,’ Arc. *δάριν* · *σπιθαμήν*, etc., are plainly from the meaning ‘stretch, span,’ and can hardly be related to Ir. *dorn* ‘fist, hand.’ The Gr. words may be from **dūōro-*, **dūerī-* : Skt. *dūrá-h* ‘fern, weit,’ sb. ‘Weite, Ferne’ (in Raum u. Zeit.), OPers. *dūra-* ‘fern,’ Lat. *dūrāre* (stretch out) ‘continue, last,’ Gr. *δῆρός* (**dūaro-*) ‘long.’

14. Of Gr. *εῦδω* ‘sleep, lie down to sleep, also of death; rest, be still; become calm’ Boisacq s.v. says: “Étym. inconnue.” An

explanation has been known to me for twelve years: Goth. *sutis* (or *sūteis*) ἐπιεικής, ησύχιος, 'nachgiebig, mild, ruhig,' *un-suti* ἀκαταστασία, 'unrest, confusion,' Skt. *sūḍāyatī* 'macht angenehm, bringt in Ordnung, bringt zurecht, macht fertig, tötet.' Connection with ηδύς, etc., is possible (root *seuād-) but not probable. Cf. *Color-Names*, 33; *IE. a²*, 113.

15. Gr. ἡρίον (*ηγρίον) 'mound, barrow,' 'tumulus' is a natural derivative of ἀείρω (*ἀερίω) 'lift, raise up,' with which compare Lat. *varus* 'an eruption on the face, blotch, pimple,' Lith. *vīras* 'Finne im Schweinefleisch,' Lat. *varulus* 'sty in the eye' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 808 with lit.), *verrūca* 'wart; a steep, rough place,' NHG. *werre* 'sty,' OE. *wearr* 'callosity, wart,' Skt. *váṛṣman-* 'Höhe, Oberstes, Spitze,' etc. (*id. ibid.*, 823 f.).

16. Gr. θύλακος 'bag, sack, pouch,' θύλάκιον 'seed-vessel of a plant,' θυλλίς, θύλας 'sack,' θύλαξ προσκεφάλιον are referred by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 188, to θύω 'schüttele,' and left unexplained by Boisacq, *Dict. Ét.*, 356. Compare Russ. *dúlo* 'Mündung (beim Schiessgewehr, bei der Kanone),' *dulk* 'Baumhöhle,' LRuss. *dúto* 'Schmiedebalg, Lauf einer Feuerwaffe,' Bulg. *dúlec* 'Mundstück einer Pfeife, eines Gefäßes; Wasserröhre,' Sloven. *dúlo* 'Hutkopf,' *dúləc* 'Mundstück; der vor Unwillen zusammengezogene Mund.' These are referred by Berneker, *Et. Wb.*, 237, to *duli* 'blasen,' Skt. *dhūlī* 'Staub,' Lat. *fūlīgo*, etc.

The Balto-Slav. words cited by Berneker do not all go back to the same primary meaning. Pol. *dulec* 'Zigarette,' *dulić* 'rauchen' evidently represent the meaning 'puff, smoke' as in Lith. *dūlis* 'Räuchermasse.' Other words come from 'blow, puff' or 'puff up, swell out' as in Sloven. *dūləc* above. Compare esp. Russ. *dut'* 'blasen, wehen, hauchen,' refl. 'sich aufblasen, schmollen.' From this meaning might have come the Gr. words. But as 'blow, puff' in this group comes originally from 'whirl, eddy,' 'aufwirbeln,' it is perhaps more probable that the Gr. words meant originally 'a whirl, roll.' In this case they would be closely related in meaning to OHG. *tola, tolo* 'racemus' from **dhulan-* 'a whirl, roll, tuft,' *toldo* 'Wipfel oder Krone der Pflanzen, Blütenbüschel,' NHG. *Dolde*.

Finally some of the Slavic words may represent the meaning 'fall away, sink,' whence 'hole, hollow' (:Skt. *dhūnōti* 'schüttelt,

entfernt, beseitigt,' *dhvásati* 'fällt herab, zerfällt, zerstiebt,' *apadhvasta-h* 'gestürzt, gesunken, verkommen'), and would be more closely related in meaning to OHG. *gitwelan* 'cessari; sopiri,' Icel. *dulr* 'reserved, secretive, reticent,' *dul* 'concealment; conceitedness,' *dylja* 'hide, conceal,' MHG. *tol(e)* 'Wasserstrom, Abzugsgraben, Erdgang, Mine.'

17. Gr. *θύμος, θύμον* 'thyme; a warty excrescence; a glandular substance in the chest of young animals, in calves the sweetbread' was certainly not named because of its fragrance. The primary meaning here is 'swelling, bunch, tuft,' in *thyme* in reference to its bushy appearance. Compare O Bulg. *na-dymati sg* 'sich aufblasen, anschwellen,' LRuss. *na-dýmy* pl. 'Leistenbruch,' Czech *dýmy* 'Leistenbeule,' Pol. *dymię* 'Leiste,' LRuss. *dýmnyća* 'Geschwür unter der Haut,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.*, 249 f.).

For meaning compare ON. *þústa* 'eine unförmliche Masse,' Norw. *tusta* 'tuft, bunch, a low tree with a bushy top,' OHG. *dosto* 'Doste, wilder Thymian,' MHG. *doste* 'Strauss, Büschel; Doste.'

18. Gr. *ἰμψας· ἔνξας, ἕψον· τὸν κισσόν, ἕψον δεσμοτήριον, γιμβάναι· ἔνγανα* Hes. are compared with Lat. *vincio* and referred to a root **ueiq*~- by Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 837. But Lat. *vincio* may come from a root **ueik*- in Skt. *pad-viçam, -viçam* 'Schlinge, Fessel, Strick' (*id. ibid.*, 838); and the Gr. words from **ueib*- in MHG. *wisen* 'winden, schwingen,' *weife* 'Garnwinde, Haspel,' OHG. *waif* 'Binde,' ON. *veipr* 'Kopfbinde,' Goth. *waips* 'Kranz,' MHG. *bewimpfen* 'verhüllen,' etc.

19. Gk. *κώμος* 'bean; testicle; the swelling of the breasts of girls as they grow to maturity' points plainly to the primary meaning 'swelling, lump' and is therefore properly referred to *κνέω*. However, *κώμος* may be for **κίνσαμος* and, therefore, more nearly related in form to OE. *hos* 'pod,' Norw. dial. *hosen* 'spongy, porous; dropsical,' *hosna* 'become spongy, bloat,' Gr. *κύστις* 'bladder; bag,' *κύστη· ἄρτος σπουγγίτης*, Skt. *çavah* 'strength, power' (cf. author, *Mod. Phil.* VI, 444).

20. Gr. *λείτω* 'leave, desert,' Lat. *linquo*, etc., are from a root **leiq*~- , the primary meaning of which was probably 'bend, give way, yield,' whence 'yield to, lend' (Goth. *leihwan* 'leihen'), 'depart from, leave, linquere.' This primary meaning appears in Lat.

liquis, obliquus ‘slanting, awry’ and also in Czech *lišný* (**liq*~-s-) ‘abweichend, verschieden,’ *lichý* ‘ungerade, unrecht, böse,’ *lichota* ‘Arglist,’ Russ. *lichój* ‘böse, arg; gewandt, geschickt,’ i.e., ‘crooked, wrong; agile, nimble, adroit.’

21. Gr. λιμφός · συκοφάντης, φειδωλός, λιμφεύειν · ἀπατᾶν Hes. are probably from the primary meaning ‘bend, cringe, sneak’: Serb.-Croat. *libiti se* ‘schleichen, sich heranschleppen; vitare, evitare, effugere,’ *libati* ‘wanken; sinken,’ ChSl. *libivă* ‘λέπτος, gracilis,’ OS. *lēf* ‘schwach, gebrechlich,’ OE. *lēf* ‘infirm, diseased, ill,’ sb. ‘damage, harm.’

22. Gr. οὐρανός, Dor. ὠρανός, Lesb. ὄρανος (**ōrōparos* Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*⁴, § 141) ‘sky, heaven’ probably meant ‘expanse’ rather than ‘cover.’ Compare εὐρός ‘wide, broad,’ in Homer especially of heaven, earth, and sea, Skt. *urú-ḥ* ‘wide, broad,’ *váraḥ* ‘width, breadth, space,’ and also *váruṇa-ḥ* ‘god of the heavens and of the waters.’ This is an old combination, but differently explained.

For the meaning as here given (‘width, expanse, space, heaven, etc.’) compare the following: Lat. *hio* ‘open, yawn,’ Skt. *vi-hāya-ḥ* ‘das Offne, Luftraum,’ ON. *gíma* ‘grosse Öffnung,’ *gimer* ‘Himmelsraum,’ *geime* ‘Schlund, Chaos, Meer.’—Gr. χαῦνος ‘yawning, loose,’ χάος ‘open space; gulf, chasm; infinite space.’—Gr. χάσμα ‘a yawning hollow; any wide space or expanse, hence used of the sky and the sea.’

23. If Gr. πάτος · ἔνδυμα τῆς Ἡρας Hes. is from **pnyt-* (Boisacq, *Dict. Et.*, 752), then the closest comparison is OE. *fnaed* ‘fringe, hem of dress,’ pre-Germ. **pnotó-m*. This, with OE. *fnæs* ‘fringe’ may be referred to OE. *fana* ‘banner,’ Goth. *fana* ‘Stück Zeug,’ OHG. *fano* ‘Zeug, Tuch,’ etc. (cf. *MLN.* XXIV, 47 f.).

24. If Gr. πτύσσω ‘fold, double up,’ πτύξη, -χός, πτυχή ‘anything in folds, fold, leaf, plate; cleft, dell, gully; wrinkle’ are from **bhugh-*, then the best words to compare are not Skt. *bhujāti* ‘biegt’ (**bheug-*) nor Goth. *biugan* ‘biegen’ (**bheug-*: OHG. *buhil* ‘Hügel’), but Lith. *būžmas* ‘Falte, Krause bei zeugartigen Dingen’ (**bhuğhmos*). However, Brugmann’s explanation, *Grdr.* I², 277, is more probable.

25. Gr. πίνακος ‘bean’ (**πίσαρος* ‘bunch, lump’) may be compared with Skt. *púṣyati*, *póṣati* (‘swell’) ‘gedeihlt, macht gedeihen,’ *púṣyam*, *púṣpam* ‘Blüte,’ *puskald-ḥ* ‘reichlich, reich, prächtig,’ Lat.

pustula ‘bubble; blister,’ NE. dial. *fuz* ‘a fat, idle woman,’ *fuzzy* ‘soft, spongy; fat, puffy; fluffy, feathery,’ Du. *voos* ‘spongy, brash,’ Swiss. *gefosen* ‘faserig, morsch, schwammig,’ *foss* ‘Taugenichts, Faulenzer,’ etc.

26. Gr. *πῦγη* ‘rump; fat, swelling land’ is referred by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 390, to the root in Skt. *pu-tāu* ‘die beiden Hinterbacken.’ This is probably correct. But inasmuch as the primary meaning was probably ‘lump, clump, mass,’ we may compare Skt. *puñja-h* ‘Haufe, Klumpen, Masse,’ *pūga-h* ‘Haufe, Menge, Schar’ (author, *IF.* XVIII, 29), and perhaps also *pūga-h* ‘Betelpalme,’ *pūgam* ‘Betelnuss’ : Gr. *πυγμή* ‘fist,’ Lat. *pugnus*, *pungo*, etc., and Lett. *puga* ‘Knopf,’ *pugulis* ‘eine blasige Erhöhung.’

27. Gr. *πίκα* ‘thickly, strongly,’ *πυκνός*, *-ινός* ‘close, compact; firm, solid; thick, crowded; frequent; well-guarded, concealed; shrewd, crafty,’ *πυκάζω* ‘make thick or close, cover or wrap up; close, shut, shut up’: Russ. *pukū* ‘Bündel, Büschel, Strauss,’ *púča* ‘Blähung,’ *počka* ‘Knospe, Blüte; Niere,’ etc. (cf. No. 30).

28. Gr. *πύλη* ‘gate, door’ may primarily have meant ‘barricade, bar’ from **pulā* ‘something solid, thick’: Lett. *pūlis* ‘Haufe, Herde,’ etc. (cf. No. 30).

29. Gr. *πύρος* ‘wheat,’ *πύρην* ‘the stone of stone-fruit, as of olives, dates; the hard bone of fishes; any grain, as of salt; the round head of a probe,’ ChSl. *pyro*, ‘Spelt,’ Pruss. *pure* ‘Trespe,’ Lith. *purai* m. pl. ‘Winterweizen’ (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 392) : Skt. *pūla-h* ‘Bündel, Büschel,’ Lith. *purė* ‘Quaste,’ *pūrinti* ‘auflockern, von Haaren, Wolle, Federbetten.’

30. These may go back to a root **pū-*, the primary meaning of which was perhaps ‘press, press together, make close, compact, etc.,’ whence many words for ‘compact mass, bunch, clump, lump, chunk, a little chunky person or animal, etc.,’ and then ‘become chunky, bunch up, swell.’ Here then would belong the following:

Lat. *puer* ‘boy, child’; Skt. *pōta-h* ‘Junges,’ Lett. *putns* ‘Vogel,’ Lith. *putytis*, ‘junges Tier, junger Vogel,’ *paūtas* ‘Ei, Hode,’ *putlūs* ‘sich blähend, geschwollen,’ Lat. *pūtus*, *putillus* ‘a little boy, child,’ etc., with which compare Skt. *putāu* ‘die beiden Hinterbacken’; Lat. *pūpus*, ‘boy, child; pupil of the eye,’ *pūpa* ‘girl; doll, puppet’: Lith. *pupà* ‘Bohne,’ *pupele* ‘dicke Knospe der Saalweide,’ dial.

'Palme,' Lett. *pūpoli* 'Weidenkätzchen, Zweige mit Weidenkätzchen, sogenannte Palmen, die am Palmsonntage zu Schlägen, mit denen man die Langschläfer weckt und zur Zierde dienen,' *pups* 'Weiberbrust,' *paupt* 'schwellen' (cf. No. 49), with which compare NE. *fob* 'a little pocket as a receptacle for a watch,' dial. *fub*, *fubs* 'a plump, chubby young person,' *ubby*, *ubsy* 'plump, chubby,' NHG., Pruss. *fuppe* 'Tasche, die man an sich trägt,' *sich fuppen* 'Falten werfen, nicht glatt anschliessend stehen, von Kleidern'; Gr. *πυκνός* 'thick, dense, compact' : Russ. *pukъ* 'Bündel, Büschel, Strauss,' *pučina* 'Wanst,' *púčil'* 'auftreiben,'—*ša* 'sich heben, aufschwellen,' Lith. *pūkas* 'Flaumfeder,' *pukszlę* 'Beule,' *paūksztas* 'Vogel,' Goth. *fugls* 'Vogel,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *IF*. IX, 361 f.); Lett. *pūlis*, 'Haufe, Herde, Kette (von Jungwild)' : Goth. *fula* 'Fohlen,' Lat. *nullus* 'a young animal; a young fowl, chicken'; Lett. *pune* 'Knollen, Knoten,' *punis* 'Beule,' *puns* 'Auswuchs am Baum; Höcker,' *paune* 'Bündel, Tornister'; Lett. *pudurs* 'Büschel, Haufe, Strauch mit Wurzeln,' *pudra* 'Haufe' : Lat. *pūbēs* 'of ripe age, adult; of plants: covered with soft down, downy.'

A common meaning runs through all these variant forms, though this might, in some cases, be due to later association. But here, as in all similar examples, the variant forms are not all derivatives of a primitive root. For some were certainly formed long after the original unenlarged base ceased to exist. They can nevertheless be regarded as related inasmuch as they derive meaning and make-up from the other enlarged bases while taking the final consonant from some synonymous word.

31. Gr. *πῦθω* (formed like *πειθῶ*) probably meant first 'sooth-saying' and then the place where the oracle was. Hence *πύθιος* was naturally used as an epithet of Apollo. The old connection with *πείθομαι*, *πυνθάνομαι* is no doubt correct, though the *υ* is unusual. This occurs, however, in Germ. : ON. *býsn* (**būd-sni-*) 'wonder, marvel,' *býsna* 'forebode, presage,' Goth. *ana-būsns* 'Gebot,' OS. *ambūsan* id.

32. Gr. *σήκωμα* 'a weight in the balance; counterpoise : recompense' belongs in meaning to *σηκός* 'weight, importance,' *σῶκος* 'strong, stout,' and OE. *þyhtig* 'strong,' *gebuhtsum* 'abundant' (cf. author, *AJPh*. XX, 271), Lett. *tūkti* 'schwellen,' etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 409, 446).

33. Gr. *σήκωμα* 'chapel, sacred enclosure' belongs to *σηκός* 'any enclosure : pen, fold; den, nest; garden; sacred enclosure, chapel shrine; sepulcher; hollow trunk of an old olive-tree,' and also *σάκος* 'shield,' Skt. *tvák*, -*tvacah* 'hide, skin,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 118).

34. Gr. *σῦκον*, Boeot. *τῦκον* 'fig; a large wart, esp. on the eyelids; piles' may be from **tūkom* 'a swelling, bunch' : Lett. *tūkt* 'schwellen,' *tūks* 'Geschwulst,' O Bulg. *tukǔ* 'Fett,' Lith. *tāukas* 'Fettstückchen,' OHG. *dioh* 'Schenkel,' etc. Cf. No. 32 and for meaning No. 35.

35. Gr. *φάκος* 'lentil; a flattish warming bottle; a mole,' *φάκελος* 'bundle, fagot,' Alb. *baθe* 'Saubohne' (Meyer, *Alb. Wb.*, 22) may, like Gr. *κύαμος*, be derived from the meaning 'swelling, bunch, lump.' These apparently represent IE. **bhək̥-*, perhaps from **bh(u)ək̥-*, **bheuāk̥-*, root **bheuā-* 'grow, swell,' whence ON. *baun*, OE. *bēan*, OHG. *bōna* 'bean' (Petersson, *IF*. XXIII, 390). Compare **bheuāk* or -*q*- in OHG. *buhil* 'Hügel,' NHG. Swab. *bihel*, *bil* 'Hügel; kleine Hautgeschwulst,' NIcel. *bjúgur* 'oedema,' Dan. *bugne* 'sich biegen, strotzen, schwollen,' Norw. *bogna* 'ergot on grain.'

Compare **bheuābh-*, **bhūbh-* : **bh(u)əbh-* in LRuss. *búba* 'kleines Geschwür,' *búben* 'kleiner Junge, Knirps,' Serb. *bubuljica* 'Blase, Pustel; Knoten; Erdhaufen; Art Pflaume,' *búbla* 'Klumpen,' *búban* 'Art Bohne,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.*, 78 f.), ON. *býfa* 'club-foot,' Norw. *búva*, *büve* 'a clumsy person, lubber,' ON. *bobbi* 'knot; snail-shell,' ME. *bobbe* 'cluster,' NHG. Swab. *poppel* 'a roundish object of moderate size : ball of yarn; mole; berry, kernel; little animal or child' : MHG. *buobe* 'Knabe, Diener; zuchtloser Mensch; die weibl. Brüste,' Germ. **bōban-* 'clump, lump : lumpish fellow, clod, lout; undersized person, boy,' Lat. *faba* 'bean,' primarily 'lump, kernel' (author *Mod. Phil.*, Jan. 1914).

36. Gr. *φορίω* 'knead; mix up; spoil,' *φορυτός* 'rubbish, sweepings, refuse,' *φορύσσω* 'mix up; defile,' *φορυκτός* 'stirred up together, mixed, stained' contain a base **bhoru-k-*, with which compare Russ. *brukát'*, *brucháč'* 'werfen; beschmutzen, besudeln,' *brykáč'* 'ausschlagen,' etc., LRuss. *brud* 'Schmutz,' *brudyty* 'beschmutzen,' MDu. *bruut* 'Dreck, Auswurf,' etc. (cf. author, *Mod. Phil.*, Jan. 1914).

37. Gr. *φρνάσσομαι* 'of horses: neigh and prance, snort; of men: be unruly, wanton, insolent' may be from either **bhruiakiomai* or **bhrusakiomai*. Compare Lith. *briáujū-s*, *briáuti-s* 'sich mit roher Gewalt vordrängen,' Russ. *bruját'* 'stark, reissend strömen, dahinfliessen,' Lett. *braulīgs* 'geil,' etc. Or OSwed. *brūsa* 'einherstürmen,' MHG. *brüsēn* 'brausen,' Du. *bruisen* 'schäumen, brausen,' MDu. *brüschen* 'brausen,' Als. *brusche** 'brausen, rauschen; mit Geräusch braten,' LRuss. *brýskaty*, *brýzgaty* 'spritzen, sprengen,' etc.

38. Lat. *dignus* 'worthy, deserving; suitable, fitting, proper' is supposed to come from **decnos:decet*, and objection is made to the connection with ON. *tigenn* 'of high estate, noble' on the ground of meaning (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 233).

If *dignus* is referred to *dīco*, it is not necessary to assume that the primary meaning was "was sich zeigen, was sich sehen lassen kann." A **dīknos* could take its meaning from any secondary use of **dīk-*, as in Gr. *δίκη* 'custom, usage, order, law, right, propriety,' *δίκαios* 'well-ordered, just, fair, fitting, deserving,' *δίκαιos* *ἐστιν* 'ἀπολωλέναι 'dignus est qui pereat,' ON., NIcel. *tign* 'dignity, highness; rank,' *tigna* 'worship, honor.'

39. Lat. *fax*, *facula* 'torch' may go back to the primary meaning 'bundle, bunch,' rather than 'brightness, light.' Compare Gr. *φάκελος* 'bundle, fagot,' and for meaning MLG. *wip* 'Bund, Büschel, Schaub, Wisch,' MDu. *wipe*, *wijp* 'zusammengewundener Bündel oder Büschel; Fackel.' Cf. No. 35.

40. Lat. *fēriae*, earlier *fēsiae* 'rest-days, holidays,' *fēstus* 'of holidays, festal' may naturally come from the meaning 'rest,' and the original form may have been **dhyēs-*. Compare ON. *dús* 'lull, dead calm,' *dúsa* 'remain quiet,' Swed. dial. *dūsa* 'doze,' Norw. *dusa* 'fall; cease, become calm; rest, sit still,' *dosa* 'remain quiet,' NE. *doze*, MHG. *tuschen* 'sich still verhalten, verbergen,' NHG. Steir. *tosch* 'dummer Kerl,' MHG. *twās* 'Tor, Narr' (**dhyēso-*), etc., root **dheyē-s-*.

Similarly Gr. *θαίλια* · *ἔσπρή*, Goth. *dulþs* 'Fest' may be referred to ON. *dugl* 'short stop, delay, pause,' *duelia* 'delay, tarry, wait, stay,' ME. *dwellen* 'linger, remain, dwell,' OHG. *twellen* 'aufhalten, verzögern; säumen,' *twāla* 'Verzögerung,' etc. (cf. *Class. Phil.* V, 304).

41. Lat. *fānum* 'temple,' to which *fēriae* is referred, may be for **dhyēsno-m* 'place of sacrifice' : Gr. θῶν 'sacrifice,' θύον 'incense offering, sacred rites,' θῦμα 'victim, sacrifice,' θυμέλη 'altar, temple'; or as 'place consecrated to the *manes*' : Lat. *fērālis* 'belonging to the (festival of the) dead,' MHG. *getwās* 'Gespenst,' etc.

42. Lat. *fovea* 'pit, pitfall' may be compared with Ion. χειῆ 'hole,' but not with χέω 'pour' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 311 with lit.). Compare rather **ghēu-* 'yawn, open' in Gr. χάος 'empty space,' χαῖνος 'loose, flabby; empty, vain,' χαῖλος· χαῖνος, MHG. *giel* 'Schlund, Rachen, Mund,' MDu. *gole* 'wide open mouth or jaws,' ON. *gymer* 'Schlund, Meer,' OHG. *goumo*, *giuno* 'Gaumen,' Norw. *gjota* 'a long deep hole.'

43. Lat. *fungus* 'mushroom; excrescence on the human body' is regarded as a loanword : Gr. σφήγγος 'sponge.' It may, however, be an original Lat. word from **bhongo-s* : Lith. *bangà* 'Masse, Menge,' ON. *bakke* (**bankan-*) 'Anhöhe, Uferbank, Wolkenbank,' etc., Norw. *bunka* 'kleiner Haufe, Beule,' MLG. *bunk* 'Knochen, namentlich die hervorragenden Hüft- und Beinknochen grosser Tiere,' NE. *bunch* 'protuberance, knob, lump; cluster, tuft.'

44. Lat. *hostia*, *hostis*, etc., have not been sufficiently explained. But the words will clear themselves up if we start with the primary meaning seen in Skt. *ghásati* 'verzehrt,' *ghasráh* 'verletzend,' Lat. *hostio* 'strike.' For **ghosti-s* would properly mean either 'an eating, feasting; feaster, guest' (Goth. *gasts* 'guest,' OHG. *gast*, etc., Lat. *hostis* 'stranger') or 'a rending, harming; one who harms, enemy' (Lat. *hostis*); and **ghostiā* would mean 'a devouring, feast : sacrifice, victim' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 370 f.). For meaning compare Gr. δάκτρω 'rend, devour,' Lat. *daps* 'feast; sacrificial feast,' ON. *tafn* 'animal for sacrifice, victim.'

45. Lat. *medeōr* 'heal, cure, be good for or against' (dat. or *contra*), *medicus* 'healing, curing; magical,' *sb.* 'physician,' Av. *mad-* 'Heilkundiger, Arzt,' etc., are referred by Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 471, to Skt. *mádati* 'freut sich, ist fröhlich,' Lat. *madeo*. In this he, in part, follows Fick, *Wb.*⁴, I, 105, who suggests Gr. μῆδομαι as also related. But this belongs to the root **mēd-* 'measure.' This after all may be the correct connection, leaving out *madeo*, etc. If so, *medeōr* would mean 'I measure out for,' in reference to the meas-

uring done by magicians in their healing arts. Compare OHG. *mezzan* 'messen; messen bei zauberischem Heilverfahren,' MDu. *meter* 'a measurer; geometer; magician, sorcerer,' *metinge* 'a measuring; geometry; the measuring of magicians and sorcerers.'

46. Lat. *mōs* 'manner, custom, mode' is quite properly referred to the root *mē-* 'measure.' To this Walde *s.v.* objects "dass - - keine Ablautform **mō-* gesichert ist." And yet under *meditor* he admits the comparison with Goth. *gamōt* 'habe Raum,' *mōta* 'Zoll,' to which he should have added OHG. *muoza* (pre-Germ. **mōdā*) 'angemessene Gelegenheit wozu, licentia, facultas, otium,' and also OSwed. *mōt* 'Mass, measure,' ON., NIcel. *mót* 'manner, way' (cf. Noreen, *Abriss der urgerm. Lautelehre*, 43).

47. Lat. *pirum* 'pear,' *pirus* 'pear-tree' cannot be compared with Gr. *ἄπιον*, *ἄπιος* according to Walde, *Et. Wb.²*, 586, who suggests that the Lat. words may belong to the root **pī-*, **pōi-* in *opīmus*, etc.

This would give for *pirum* the primary meaning 'swelling, bunch' or the like, as in Skt. *pēru-h*, *pērū-h* 'anschwellend, schwellen machen.'

48. Lat. *pūbēs*, *pūber* 'of ripe age, grown up; of plants: covered with soft down, downy, ripe,' *pūbes*, -*is* 'the hair which appears on the body at the age of puberty; hair in general; young men' : Lett. *pudurs* 'Büschen, Haufe, Strauch mit Wurzeln,' *pudra* 'Haufe,' *pūdis* 'Haufe, Herde' (see No. 30).

49. Lat. *pūpus* 'boy, child; pupil of the eye,' etc., originally 'bunch, lump, chunk' : Lith. *pupa* 'Bohne,' Lett. *pups* 'Weiberbrust,' *paupt* 'schwellen,' NE. dial. *fub*, *fubs* 'a plump, chubby young person,' *fubby* 'plump, chubby,' etc. (see No. 30, and for meaning No. 35).

50. Lat. *quercus* 'oak' (from **perquus*): OHG. *forha* 'Kiefer,' OE. *furh* 'fir' : Goth. *fairgumi* 'Berg,' OE. *fiergin-* 'mountain': Lith. *perkūnas* 'Donner' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.²*, 632 with lit.). These represent a base **perq^u-*, the common meaning of which was probably 'point, peak,' whence 'cone, acorn : cone-tree, acorn-tree; peak, mountain; bolt, thunder-bolt.' Compare Gr. *πέρτη* (**porq^uā*) 'buckle-pin, brooch,' *πέρπαξ* 'the handle of a shield; part of the head-gear of a horse': *πείρω* 'pierce, spit,' *περόνη* 'anything pointed for piercing or pinning, esp. the tongue of a buckle.'

51. Lat. *subitus* 'sudden, quick' is incorrectly derived from

subeo. It is rather from the root *s̄eub-, *s̄uōb- 'swing, make a quick movement' : Lith. *siaubiu* 'rase umher, tobe,' *sūbōju* 'schwanke, wiege mich,' ON. *sópa* (*swōpōn) 'sweep,' NE. *swoop* 'move with a rush, sweep; descend upon with a sudden rush.'

Similarly OE. *swift* 'swift' comes from the root *sueib- in ON. *svipa* 'sich schnell bewegen,' *sueipa* 'werfen,' OE. *swāpan* 'sweep; rush, dash,' OHG. *sweifan* 'schwingen; schwanken.'

52. Lat. *solum* 'bottom, ground, floor, sole,' *solea* 'sole,' Goth. *sulja* id., *gasuljan* 'gründen,' etc., may very well be compared with *swell*, in spite of Walde's assertion, *Et. Wb.*², 723: "Verbindung mit *schwellen* hat nur die Laute für sich." The development of meaning was 'swelling, lump,' whence 'anything hard, firm, solid.' Compare esp. MHG. *swelle* 'Geschwulst, Schwiele,' *swil(e)*, *swel* 'Schwiele; Fusssohle,' and also MHG. *swelle* 'Balken, Grundbalken, Schwelle,' OHG. *swelli* id., *sūl* 'Säule,' OE. *syl* 'pillar,' *syll* 'sill, foundation,' Gr. *ὐλη* 'brush-wood, bushy undergrowth, thicket; wood, forest; timber; substance' (cf. author, *AJPh.* XXI, 181).

Here may belong Lat. *solidus* 'hard, firm, solid.'

For meaning compare OFries. *ili* 'Schwiele,' OE. *ile* 'callosity; sole of foot,' ON. *il* 'sole.'

53. Lat. *sūra* 'calf of the leg,' Gr. Ion. *Ὥρη*, *Ὥρη* (*suōrā) id. come naturally from a root *s̄uēr- 'swell.' Compare MHG. *swern* 'schwellen, wachsen; schwären, eitern; schmerzen,' *swere* 'Geschwulst, Geschwür,' etc., OE. *swornian* 'coagulate,' *swearm* 'swarm,' MLG., MHG. *swarm* 'Schwarm' (: *swalm* 'Schwarm'), MLG. *süre* 'Hitzblätter, Finne.'

Here also as above are words for 'beam, post' : Skt. *sváru-h* 'Opferpfosten, langes Holzstück,' OE. *sweor* 'pillar,' OHG. *swirōn* 'befählen,' Lat. *surus* 'branch, stake.'

54. Lat. *vibix* 'weal, welt,' Lett. *wibele* 'Strieme' are supposed to have meant originally "Peitschenschläge und die dadurch bewirkten Striemen" (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 832, with references). It is more probable that the primary meaning was 'seam, welt.' For a welt or scar looks as if the skin were drawn together in a seam. Hence we may compare *ueib- 'twist, bind' in OHG. *waif* 'Binde,' Goth. *waips* 'Kranz,' MHG. *wīsen* 'winden, schwingen,' etc.

Similarly Lat. *vīpex* 'welt' belongs to the root *ueip-* 'twist,

bind' in Goth. *-waibjan* 'winden,' etc.; and *vīmex* 'welt' may be compared with *vīmen* 'withe, osier.' All are from the root *wei-* 'twist, bind,' whence also Lett. *wīle* 'Saum, Naht : Strieme, Narbe.'

For meaning compare NE. *welt* 'an applied hem or edge; weal'; NHG., Als. *brise* 'Einfassung eines Kleides, Saum : Narbe, Schramme,' NIcel. *bris* 'scar'; OHG. *narwa* 'fibulatura, ansula : cicatrix'; Skt. *kāñcatē* 'bindet,' *kaca-h* 'Band: Narbe.'

55. With Lat. *vibrāre* compare NIcel. *vipra* (**wiprōn*) 'draw (the lips) together,' *viprur* fem. pl. 'contraction of the lips,' Norw. *vipra* 'act in a strange manner or with unnecessary ceremony,' Pruss. *wipperig* 'trillernd,' Als. *weserig* 'flink, beweglich,' *weseren* 'kurze und lebhafte Bewegungen machen mit Händen und Armen.'

56. Lat. *victima* 'a beast for sacrifice' is derived by Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 833, from **victis* or **victus* 'Weihung': Goth. *weihs*, OHG. *wīh* 'heilig.' A more probable comparison may be made with ON. *viga* 'töten, erringen,' Lat. *vinco*, *victus*. For meaning compare *hostia*, No. 44.

57. Lat. *vidulus* 'basket' may be compared with the unexplained Skt. *vidula-h* 'a kind of reed'; and both may be referred to a root *weid-* 'wind, twist' in Lett. *wīdināt* 'flechten' and in the words given by Petersson, *IF*. XXIV, 263 (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 835).

58. Lat. *vola* 'the hollow of the hand; instep, sole' is referred by Walde, *Et. Wb.*², 853, to the root **geu-* 'wölben, biegen, krümmen.' It may better be assigned to the synonymous root **uel-*. Compare OE. *föt-welm*, *-wylm*, *-wolma* 'sole of the foot,' ON. *valr* 'round,' Lith. *apvalus* 'rund,' Skt. *válati* 'wendet sich, dreht sich,' *valita-h* 'gebogen,' etc.

59. Lat. *volēnum* 'pirum,' with the primary meaning 'ball,' may also belong here. For meaning cf. No. 47.

THE "CONTINUATION" OF THE ODYSSEY¹

BY A. SHewan

C. THE NEKYIA

The end of the *Odyssey* fell into disrepute at a very early date. Aristophanes and Aristarchus, *οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν τότε γραμματικῶν*, pronounced ψ 296 the *τέλος* or *πέρας*, but the terms in which their judgment has been transmitted are unfortunately such that *οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν νῦν Ὁμηρικῶν* are not at one as to their import. The point has not been carefully discussed by many authorities, but those who have done so are among the best.

The relevant citations are given by Ludwich (*Aristarchus hom. Textkr.*, I, 630 f.) and by Pierron on ψ 296. Both are satisfied, and Römer (*Technik d. hom. Gesänge*, 514) agrees, that the two great critics did not athetize the "Continuation" and declare it a spurious addition to Homer's work, but only meant to indicate that the great ἄγων of Odysseus was at an end with his reunion with Penelopé. In Pierron's words, they applied the epic rules of Aristotle and spoke *au point de vue littéraire, et non comme philologues*, or, in those of Eustathius, *οὐ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς Ὁδυσσείας ἀλλ' ἵστις τὰ καίρια ταύτης ἐνταῦθα συντετελέσθαι*. So Mure (*Hist. Gk. Lit.*, II, 189); Aristarchus did athetize the *Nekyia*, and as his specific arguments affect it alone, there is an implication that he objected to the "Continuation" as a whole only on poetical grounds.

Among those who take the contrary view are Kirchhoff, Blass, and Monro. The first-named (*Odyssee*², 532) seems to deny the atheteses within the "Continuation," but these are undeniable. Blass (*Interpol.*, 214), quoting the scholium *'Αριστοφάνης καὶ Ἀρισταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὁδυσσείας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται*, is convinced, "though he cannot prove it," that this was not a mere conjecture, but a tradition, and that there were copies or editions which closed at this point. Monro (on ψ 296) thinks Aristarchus distinguished between a continuation by a late poet and two still later interpola-

¹ Cf. C.P., VIII, 284; IX, 35.

[CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IX, April, 1914] 160

tions. Only these latter were athetized "in the strict sense" and had the obelus, which was not available for the longer excision.

The use of the words *τέλος* and *πέρας* appears to support Ludwig's view. See the discussion of these terms in Schmidt's *Synonymik*, 404 ff., and cf. Professor Scott in *Class. Jour.*, VIII, 221; *τέλος* is not *finis*, but "goal" or *Ziel*—"consummation." Belzner (*Kompos. d. Od.*, 202) quotes Eustathius' *σκοτιμάτατον τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσείας* of the *μησητηροφονία*. The fact that there were atheteses within the "Continuation" points in the same direction. The words of Aristarchus would easily come to be interpreted as meaning that all after ψ 296 was spurious. "Poor Aristarchus" suffered much at the hands of scribes and excerptors (Römer, *Philologus*, LXX, 321 ff., and *Aristarchos Athetesen*, 58); he has been much misrepresented. In the present case we can only say it is not proved that he believed the "Continuation" a late addition.¹ And the discussion has after all no great practical interest. Whatever the opinion of the Alexandrians, we can come to a conclusion for ourselves, and on the basis of much better materials than they possessed.

The starting-point in modern treatment of the question is Spohn's *De extrema Odysseae parte* (1816),² a clearly written treatise, but swollen by digressions of no interest now, and by what he himself admits are *minutae observationes*. It has been highly praised by Kayser, Blass, Wilamowitz, and others. Schädel (*Das epische Thema d. Odyssee*) even says it marks *die Meta der Wissenschaft*, and adds—with some ground, it must be admitted—that since Spohn's work appeared peace has reigned in regard to the "Continuation." But Spohn has been accepted too readily. One wonders how many of those who have given their adherence to his views have examined for themselves the various points raised by him, and have reflected how far Homeric study has advanced in a century. In the sphere of the *Realien* he several times remarks on the simplicity and rudeness of the age and culture mirrored in the poems, and uses them in argument. We look on these with different eyes in these days. Similarly his linguistic ease is quite out of date. Only in the realm

¹ The suggestion of E. Meyer in *Hermes*, XXIX, 478, has an extremely slight basis in the last line of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, *δωναστῶς ἀκτᾶς Παγασηδας εἰσαπέβητε*.

² Expanded from his Doctor's dissertation of 1815 with the same title.

of the repetitions would he have a ready and whole-hearted following now—by critics of a certain school.

Spohn was followed by Liesegang (*De extrema Odysseae parte* [1855]), who examined the “Continuation” line by line, correcting Spohn’s errors and committing not a few of his own.¹ The linguistic side of the dissertation is minute, but poor in quality. Much is made of $\alpha.$ $\lambda\lambda.$, and of words ($\iota\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$, $\beta\rho\beta\tau\sigma$ and $\beta\rho\tau\beta\epsilon\iota\sigma$, $\theta\iota\iota\omega$, $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\sigma$, etc.) which are peculiar to the *Iliad*, and naturally appear but rarely in the *Odyssey*. The case is strengthened by the assumption that other occurrences of words are in “late” passages. There is a good discussion of $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma \dot{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma$, ω 250, but there is no reference to the variant reading, $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma \dot{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma'$ (Cobet, *Misc. Crit.*, 430). Much space is devoted to the repetitions, and much to what must be deemed mere micromythology. Liesegang appears to forget his own caution in regard to *leves parvaeque res*.

These two treatises appeared at a time when all efforts of the kind were welcomed with unholy joy, and they have been very successful. They are always quoted and implicitly trusted by all who take the unfavorable view of the “Continuation.” Condemnation has been very general, and in respect of the *Nekyia* so universal that the authorities who have dared to defend it might be counted on the fingers of one hand. When one says that even Colonel Mure, Oskar Jäger, Kiene, and Belzner give up the *Nekyia*, it will be understood how desperate the case is.

It was Aristarchus who commenced the attack, by observing the un-Homeric character of Hermes and the action attributed to him in the first lines of ω , and the heresy has never been purged. It is regarded as the obliquity of a Homerid who lived in days when ideas were held far different from those of Homer. First, we have Hermes called *Kυλλήνος*—“as Aristarchus observed, a post-Homeric epithet” (Monro). The remark seems to beg the question. The epithet was used after Homer’s day, certainly, but that does not prove that Homer did not know it. The point is, what evidence is there that the epithet was not known to the *Ur-Homer*? Only

¹ On ω 68, see Λ 49, Π 165; on ω 149, cf. ϵ 396, τ 201, λ 61; on ω 179, see σ 64; on ω 189, see λ 41; on ω 220, besides Ω 717 see χ 479 and ω 545; the uses of $\delta\rho\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\acute{a}μ\mu\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$ and $\delta\rho\kappa\alpha \tau\iota\theta\acute{e}\nu\sigma$ are to be distinguished, etc.

this apparently, that often as Hermes appears before ω , he is never called Κυλλήνος. But Apollo is Σμιθεύς and Ἐκατηβελέτης only once, and ἥϊος only twice. So for ἀγροτέρη, of Artemis, and χρωστήριος, of her (and Ares). Hermes himself is σῶκος only once, Μαιάδος νιός but once, and ἀκάκητρα only once outside ω . Aphrodité is Κύπρις only in E. But it will be said that her Cyprian cult is known from θ , whereas Homer, though he knows Mount Κυλλήνη (B 603) and has the adjective Κυλλήνος (O 518) of Kyllené, the town in Elis, does not mention the worship of Hermes in either locality. True, but that does not prove he did not know it. On the other hand, Dr. Farnell (*Cults*, V, 1 ff.) shows that Hermes was the old god of Arcadia, and that thence the Elian cult, which "bears marks of great antiquity," was derived. There is thus rather a presumption in favor of Κυλλήνος being ancient. Its solitary occurrence can, we have seen, be paralleled. Dioné is on the stage but once, in a passage in E where we are said to find ourselves in just such an "un-Homeric atmosphere" as that of ω . Yet she is *uralt* (Drerup, *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias*, 191); of "an antiquity more remote than that of Hera" (Leaf on E 370).

But further, Hermes performs an unusual function. "Aristarchus argues with great force that the function here attributed to Hermes—that of conducting souls to Hades ($\psi\chi\sigma\tau\omega\mu\pi\tau\delta$)—is nowhere else mentioned in Homer. The passing-away of life is so often described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that this argument is as strong as any argument *ex silentio* can be" (Monro on ω 2). Again we must dismiss the mere fact of solitariness. As Mr. Andrew Lang says (*H. and E.*, 316), we cannot call it a novelty. "Homer has had no previous occasion to describe it." Dr. Monro says Homer has had frequent occasion, and to that I shall return; but certainly there is no other similar state occasion, on which a distinguished troupe have to be removed to the nether-world, where the poet wants them for the purpose of a colloquy. He must be given some license in the making of his story. He introduces the helm of Hades, the charmed girdle of Aphrodité, and the doves who bring Father Zeus supplies of ambrosia, only once, and Apollo's interest in wrestling is unknown outside Ψ 660 f. Far too much importance is attached to singularities in the poems. The present objection is like the remark of Dr.

Leaf on A 334 (repeated by Cauer in his edition of Ameis-Hentze), that only in post-Homeric times is Hermes the patron of heralds. But surely it is extremely probable, seeing that Hermes frequently performs functions analogous to those of heralds on earth, and that he has in "his opiate rod" the symbol of office which the herald on earth had in his *σκῆπτρον*, that the god was already the patron of these officials on earth. But for the episode of the scar in τ , we should not know that to Homer, Hermes, though already a thief (E 390, Ω 24), was, to use Dr. Farnell's description, the "patron of thieves, liars, and defrauders."

And, though the function of *ψυχοτομός* has only this one mention, there are various incidents and references in the poems which may incline us to accept it as an established fact. Hermes is already *πομπός par excellence* on earth—Ω 334 f., $\sigmaοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἐταιρίσσαι$, Ω 153, etc.; and Putsch (*De variis dei Mercur. apud Hom. muneribus*, 15) consequently describes his action in ω as *non novum munus*. Cf. the $\delta\mu' \delta\pi\delta\eta\delta\epsilon$ of τ 398. A *πομπός* for a soul on its way to the realm below is even mentioned in the grim jest in N 414, and we twice find the expression *κῆρες ζβαν θανάτοιο φέρονται* (B 302, § 207). These *κῆρες* Rohde calls *Hadesdämonen*. Hermes once escorted, not indeed a *ψυχή*, but Herakles *airós*, to Hades (Λ 626, Θ 366 ff.), and rescued Ares from confinement (E 390), not in Hades, but possibly enough from what may be described as *ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαῖης*.¹ It is true that Hermes is not represented as "Lord of Death." But he is Lord of Sleep (η 138, Ω 343 f., 445, ε 47 f.), and Sleep is "Death's twin brother" (Ξ 231, ΙΙ 672, 682). See Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* "Hermes," 789, and Eitrem, *Hermes u. d. Toten*, 76. "Death is but a sleep," and "from god of sleep to god of death the way is short and easy."

The epithets of the god are all so obscure that little is to be gleaned from them, though they have been discussed over and over again. But it may be observed, as regards *διάκροτος*, that it is not uncommon to find the admission that it may after all be from *διά+* *ἄγω*, in which case the fact that Hades has gates to be passed "through" (E 646, etc.) would have significance. Boisacq's *dis-*

¹ This on the interpretations of the mythologists. See now the note on p. 178 of Drerup's work on E—*einem unterirdischen Kerker?*

penseur (apparently of) *honneurs funèbres* ($\deltaιά + κτερ$ —in $\kappa\tauέρεα$) would be still more significant. As regards Ἀργεϊφόντης, there is a similar amount of agreement that something like "destroyer of light" (cf. the Homeric phrase $\lambda\acute{e}πειν φάος \eta\acute{e}λιοι$) is a not unlikely interpretation—*significatio consentanea Mercurio ψυχοπομπῷ*, Neckel says in a paper on the epithet.¹ Gruppe (*Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.*, 1324 ff.) argues for a reference to liberated souls. And on the whole the two words appear to point to some such function as that now under discussion. The rarer *ἐριούριος* and *ἀκάκητα* have also been interpreted to the same effect.

But these are only indications. It is much more important to see whether we have not grounds, on materials which Aristarchus "never knew," for saying that the psychopompic function was *uralte*. Now, in the first place, that Hermes was already an ancient deity with a long history behind him, even in Homeric days—whatever we may understand by that expression—seems to be well ascertained. He is said by the authorities, as Farnell,² Gruppe, and Preller-Robert, to be pre-Hellenic and Pelasgian. "Der ganze Kultus scheint von der Urzeit zu stammen" (Eitrem, *op. cit.*, 68). The god is of the *Urbevölkerung* (Fick, *Ortsnamen*, 131; Siecke, *Hermes der Mondgott*, 16). Fick (*Hattiden*, 45) makes the god's mother Maia (whom Homer knows)=Ma, the All-Mother. Hermes, her son, is the (ithyphallic) Hermes of Kyllené, where his cult was certainly of hoary antiquity.

Consequently there was ample time, before the epic, for the many functions of Hermes to develop. Can we then say that the one denoted by *ψυχοπομπός* was primeval? We must depend on the results achieved by the mythological experts. From the authorities first to hand, Dr. Farnell's work (V, 1 ff.) and those of Gruppe and Rohde already mentioned, and Eitrem's article in Pauly-Wissowa, I find that Hermes was Chthonian and lord of death

¹ It is suggested in *B. ph. W.* (1913), 756, that the epithet may be of eastern origin (came with Hermes from Anatolia?), the similar form *Βελλερόφόντης* being styled "pure Lycian." But -πτ- is not necessarily a non-Greek mark. For the discussions of *διάκροτος* see Ostergaard in *Hermes*, XXXVII, 333 ff. He arrives at the meaning *διάδθορος*. But his argument is spoiled by the assumption that a number of passages are late.

² See *Cults*, II, 619, for the evidence available for a decision of the kind in regard to a given deity, and cf. *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, 18.

"probably in the earliest period"; that it is likely that his Arcadian worship came from Anatolia, for, though there is no sure clue to his worship there, Fick's study of Arcadian names has shown that the Anatolians had their congeners in Greece before the arrival of the Hellenes; and that (Eitrem, *op. cit.*, 790; Farnell, *op. cit.*, 14, note) Professor Sir William Ramsay has discovered (*J.H.S.*, III, 9 f.) the conception of Hermes *ψυχοπομπός* on an ancient Phrygian rock tomb. From Gruppe we learn that Hermes' very name may point to connection with the underworld, and that the office of *Seelenführer* is one of his *Urfunktionen*. Indeed Gruppe looks on the terrestrial office denoted by *πομπός* and *ἡγεμόνος*, and known to Homer, as derived from it. Rohde, albeit to him Homer was Ionian and his lays are conveniently "late" and "early" for the argument in *Psyche*, tells us that the author of *ω*, though late, no doubt borrowed the *ψυχοπομπός* notion *aus altem Volksglaubens*.

The conclusion we are led to, then, by recognized authorities is that Hermes *ψυχοπομπός* was very ancient. The mention of that side of the god's activity should not be considered strange; and the solitary mention is, we have seen, no ground for suspicion. According to one school of mythologists (see Miss Harrison, *Themis*, 295) "Homer forgets much." A simpler view is that he does not pretend to give a complete picture of any individual in his pantheon. He uses the qualities, powers, and attributes of a divine personage only for his own purposes, as opportunity arises or the necessity of his story compels.

The burden is on the objectors of showing that the function in question was not known to Homer. They cannot prove the negative;¹ on the other hand, the mythologists favor the positive view. The objection would have force only if we could say that the conception of any Homeric deity, as we can compile it from references in the poems, must include every feature of the cult of that deity as known in the early days when Homer wrote—which would be absurd. Take the case of Artemis. In the poems she is a graceful maiden, fond of the chase; she administers easy death to human beings;

¹ They hardly make the attempt. Arguments are surely difficult to adduce when Hennings (*Odyssee*, 587) actually says *heisst es doch von den εύρωντα κέλευθα (οίκια ?)*, T 65, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοι περ!

and she at times avenges insults done to her. We now know a good deal more about her early history, by reference to the second volume of Farnell's work and recent *B.S.A.*'s. And cf. Mr. Thompson in *J.H.S.* (1909), 306 f. Her origin, like Hermes', "doubtless lies in an age far beyond the age of Homer" (Miss Lorimer in *Proc. Class. Assoc.* [1912], II).

But there is yet another difficulty presented to us. Hermes, it is said, does violence to custom in taking the Souls of the Wooers to Hades before their bodies had had burial. ἀλλ' αὐται καὶ ἄταφοι κατίασιν (schol. min.), or, as Eustathius put the objection, πῶς δέ, φασι, καὶ ἐπιμίγνυται τοῖς νεκροῖς οἱ μνηστῆρες, ὅπου Πάτροκλον οὐκ ἔωσι μίσγεσθαι ἄταφον ὄντα. The moderns drag in Elpenor, as well as Patroclus. "So too Elpenor, the companion left unburied in the island of Circé, is met at the entrance of Hades, and entreats Ulysses to grant him funeral rites, without which, as we may gather—though it is not expressly said—he will not be able to pass the gates of Hades. The contradiction is plain" (Monro on ω 11–13).

This is an extremely interesting piece of Homeric criticism, and it deserves careful attention. First, Elpenor must be eliminated altogether. As Dr. Monro says, it is not expressly said that he is barred from association with the community of *ψυχαί* in Hades, and there is nothing in λ 13 ff. to warrant us in inferring that. In that book, when Odysseus reaches the spot indicated by Circé and has made his preparations, the ghosts appear ὑπὲξ Ἐρέβεως (36 f.). Odysseus takes his seat by the *βθόνος* he had dug, and keeps off the crowd, waiting for Teiresias. Then (51) πρώτη δὲ ψυχὴ Ἐλπήνορος ἥλθε, "for he had not been buried . . . his corpse had been left in the house of Circé unwept and unburied." This might suggest that Elpenor is not consorting with the other souls; but he himself, in his reply to Odysseus, 72 f., makes no complaint of exclusion. He begs for burial when Odysseus goes back, only μή τοι τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι. If the poet meant that Elpenor was in the unfortunate position of Patroclus, when he appeared to Achilles in Ψ , it is strange that Elpenor, or the poet for him, does not say so. The reason which is given is a quite sufficient one.

But let us assume that Elpenor was, like Patroclus, debarred from the general society in Hades. We then have two cases to establish

the rule which the author of our *Nekyia* is said to break, when he represents Hermes as escorting the souls of unburied men to Hades. But, unfortunately for the opposition, these two cases are extremely weak. That of Patroclus is related in a book which has been generally decried as late and "Odyssean," and the passage describing the appearance of Patroclus has been a particular butt of adverse criticism. See the introduction to Ψ in Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang*. And for Elpenor's case see, e.g., Lillge, "Nekyia," in *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen* (1911), 79, and the note of Merry and Riddell—the fairest of commentators—to λ 51. They conclude that "it seems difficult to accept" the episode as genuine. So disectors of the poems must not present these two instances, discredited by their own side, to us as establishing a rule by which we are to be bound.

However, we will grant to them (what we ourselves, in spite of the adverse criticism, are quite ready to believe) that these two instances are genuine, and we will also grant that two to one (the one being the infirm case in our *Nekyia*) is an overwhelming proportion. We observe that the case against the action of Hermes in ω is strengthened by an argument *ex reticentia Homeri*. "The passing-away of life," says Dr. Monro as already quoted, "is so often described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that this argument [that Hermes $\psi\nu\chiοτουπός$ is nowhere mentioned in Homer] is as strong as any argument *ex silentio* can be." Apply this, then, to the cases of Patroclus and Elpenor, which we are allowing the opposition to regard as thoroughly established. "The passing-away of life" is often described in the *Iliad*. Warriors are slain on the battle-field and their $\psi\nu\chiai$ hie away to Hades, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ "Ερεβος, Αιδοσδέ, δόμον" Αἰδος $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega$, and so forth, and their bodies remain on the field unburied to be devoured by dogs and birds—but never a reference to the disability to which they are all to be subjected in the nether world for want of the rites of sepulture. Nor, when Elpenor gets his wish and is decently buried, μ 8 ff., is it stated that now he will have full rights in the world below. Is this not "as strong as any argument *ex silentio* can be" against the existence of any such bar to admission to Hades because there has been no funeral? Erhardt, discussing the passage in Ψ (*Entstehung der homn. Gedichte*, 449), admits that our *Nekyia* is in accord with the general Homeric view.

So the *καὶ ἄταφοι καρίασιν* argument proves nothing against us. There are two cases, allowing Elpenor's to be on a par with that of Patroclus, of the souls of unburied men being excluded from Hades, but there are many others of men in similar case, with regard to whom we hear of no hitch about their admission to Hades. These are treated like the Wooers. In fact, the argument is reduced to Ψ versus ω, and we may take our choice. We can keep both, and Homer is not a penny the worse.

But there are other strange things. In ω 11 f. Hermes and the Souls of the Wooers went *πάρ . . . Ὄκεανοῦ τε ρόδας καὶ Δευκάδα πέτρην, ἣδὲ παρ' Ἡελίου πύλας καὶ δῆμον δνείρων*, and we hear of this White Rock, these Gates of the Sun, and this Land of Dreams nowhere else in the poems. Like many other things, they happen to be mentioned by Homer only once, but it is hardly necessary to say more on that point. In E we similarly "find ourselves in a world of myths of which we know nothing elsewhere" (Leaf, *Introduction*), but we are not likely to hear much of this peculiarity after Drerup's masterly vindication of that book. The criticism that made the variety and wealth of the Homeric mythology a means of vexing the poet's mind has had its day.

The Gates "doubtless belong to the conception of Hades which places it in the darkness of the extreme West," and are "those which the sun enters at his setting" (Monro); and so most commentators. An objection would hardly be founded on this nowadays. Similarly the notion of a Dreamland (like the Gates, in the vicinity of Hades, ω 13) "is not inconsistent with the account in τ 562 ff. of the two gates out of which dreams issue." Liesegang alleges imitation of Hesiod (*Theogon.* 758 f.), but no grounds are stated. *Sic vult, sic jubet.* Hennings follows suit and adds *Theogon.* 212, apparently because it mentions a *φῦλον δνείρων*. Are we to suppose there was, in the popular imagination, no Dreamland, no realm of Death and Sleep—*consanguineus leti*—before Hesiod's day? Did primitive man assign no local habitation to the dreams, and the *revenant ψυχή* seen in dreams, on which philosophers have built up theories of savage religion? In Homer the connection of the dream and the *ψυχή*—"das andre Ich," as Rohde describes it, "dessen Reich ist die Traumwelt"—is close enough. The two are likened to each other in λ 207, 222,

and they are described by the same word, *εὐωλον* (Ψ 72, 104, and in λ). See Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, 524, and cf. λ 29 with τ 562.

The expression *Λευκὰς πέτρη* ("white rock," as in Eurip. *Cycl.* 166) has been given many interpretations. Barnes thought of his own Albion, Krichenbauer of the Peak of Teneriffe, and Breusing of the "snow-clad peak of Atlas." Others have gone to Gibraltar, others again to Achilles' island of Leuké. And many other white cliffs could no doubt be found. It has also been suggested that the rock is the *πέτρη* in Hades mentioned by Circé, κ 515 (M. and R., *ad loc.*, and Hayman on ω 11),¹ a "Felsen der Verwesung [the Αβάίνον λίθος of Ranae 194] mit den bleichenden Gebeinen," *λεύ' δοτέα* (Preller-Robert, 814). This is the *märchenhaft* view, to which mention of the Gates of the Sun and of Dreamland is supposed to lend support. Such a rock is found in other mythologies (Gerland, *Altgriech. Märchen in d. Od.*, 40).

But discussions on the great and fascinating Leukas-Ithaka question appear to have settled that the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* is the point in which the long southern strip of Leukas ends, the cape known to the ancients as Leukatas and in these days as Kap Dukato (cf. *Γυραιη πέτρη*, δ 507, and perhaps *πέτρη Ωλενή*, B 617). The promontory, conspicuous for its white cliffs, which rise to a height of 300 meters, lies some ten miles to the northwest of Ithaka (Thiaki), and its identity with the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* is accepted by some prominent writers on either side in the great dispute. I may refer to Rüter, *Mit Dörpfeld nach Leukas-Ithaka*, 37 f.; Thomopoulos, *Ithaka u. Homer* (German summary), 40 n.; Groeschl., *Dörpfelds Leukas-Hypothese*, 23; Bérard, II, 422; Allen in *C.R.*, XX, 270, and *J.H.S.*, XXX, 306 f.; Gruhn, *Kyklopen u. Phäaken*, 49; Paulatos, Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΩΣ, 81; Goessler, *Leukas-Ithaka*, 38; and Gustav Lang, *Untersuchgn. zur Geogr. d. Od.*, 77. These take the *πέτρη* out of the realm of fiction and restore it to the world of reality from which Hermes takes his start. The identification is used by the several partisans each in his own interest, but all agree that Hermes, after leaving the home of Odysseus, be that Thiaki or Leukas, makes for the sea² on his way to

¹ Possibly also in a line which some added after Ξ 279.

² The Ὀικανό βοϊδιον may well be (as has been thought) the Adriatic, which was, for long after Homer's day, an inhospitable *mare clausum* (Myres in *Proc. Class. Assoc.* [1911], 60).

Hades, vaguely conceived as in a westerly, or possibly a north-westerly, direction, in a region of Cimmerian mist near the sun's setting-place. To reach the expanse of sea in the west, he must pass the *πέτρη*, which is specially mentioned by Homer because of its prominence in the seascape, and as Land's End, the last point on *terra firma* before the plunge into the unknown. Its mention in no way discredits our passage.¹

The only other mythological offense is in the mention of nine Muses in the account of the obsequies of Achilles, ω 60 f.—Μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῇ θρήνεον. Elsewhere in the poems we have simply *Μοῦσα*, or *Μοῦσαι* without any number being specified. As nine Muses are mentioned in Hesiod, *Theogon.* 65 and 76, this is said to be a sign of lateness.

The *ἀπορία* in antiquity, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀριθμεῖν τὰς Μοῦσας οὐχ Ὄμηρικόν, was answered by the λύσις, τί κωλνει ἄπαξ; Liesegang thinks "foolishly," others will say, quite satisfactorily. Monro points out that the words do not necessarily imply that the Muses were nine; only that "nine in all" took part. *Ἐννέα* is, as he adds, "a favorite" (round) "number with Homer." Nothing in the Homeric passages forbids us to believe either that the poet of *ω* conceived the Muses as of indefinite number, or that the supposed earlier poets knew they were nine, though they do not happen to say so.

The un-Homeric atmosphere seems to have cleared. But, even if various differences in matters mythological between *ω* and other parts of the poems were established, we should still feel justified in contesting the inference that they point to a different author in a later age. If we are to trust the authorities, this is a department of human belief and fancy in which, in early ages—not to use a wider

¹ A fresh perusal of the now plentiful Leukas-Ithaka literature suggests the following remarks: (1) If the Δενκάς *πέτρη* in Kap Dukato, then, as it is apparently not in Homer's Ithaka (Groeschl, *op. cit.*, 23), Leukas would appear not to be that Ithaka. (2) It is an extremely weak point in Dörpfeld's theory that he has to assume the lateness of the *Catalogue*, recently vindicated as ancient by Allen, *op. cit.*, and Thompson, *Liverpool Annals*, IV, 128 ff., and of *ω*. It is admitted that the Ithaka of the *Catalogue* is Thiaki. (3) *δύμφλας* does, in spite of the pleading of the Leukadists, seem more appropriate to Thiaki than to Leukas, even admitting that the latter has *always* been an island. (4) οὐχ *ἰππῆλατος* can be said of Thiaki, not of Leukas. (5) The dawn does not come to Leukas *παρ' Ὀκεανῷ ρόῶν* (χ 197). (6) There seems much force in a remark attributed to Wilamowitz, that it is very strange that Homer's descriptions of his Ithaka contain no allusion to the white cliffs which are so conspicuous a feature of Leukas.

term—great variety and latitude¹ have always prevailed, a *Freiheit fast Freigeistigkeit* which inevitably produces *manchen Abirrungen im Einzelnen* (Rohde, 35 f.). Such characteristics of the religious system—so to call it—of the Homeric poems have often been noted. In regard to the hereafter, “least of all,” Professor Seymour says, “is strict consistency to be expected or demanded.” So Mr. Andrew Lang—and who knew better than he?—“all theories of the state of the dead are full of similar contradictions” (*H. and E.*, 317). Shakespeare, as German critics have pointed out, is not consistent within the limits of *Hamlet*. From out the bourne from which no traveler returns there comes a ghost, an active peremptory ghost. It is no worse than this when Homer describes Odysseus as sitting with drawn sword to frighten a crowd of wraiths that are as “shadows or dreams” and are said to have no bodily force; it is by comparison a trifle when he pictures $\psi\chi\alpha\iota$ as now flitting off to the halls of Hades as soon as death has released them, now as carried thither by *Hades-dämonen*, and yet again, on a special occasion, as escorted by Hermes, Lord of Death. Archaeology even suggests that the Homeric poems belong to an intermediate age when sepulture and cremation existing side by side mark the conflict of two attitudes toward the future state—a condition of things which would “lead the poet to some inconsistency of language” (Leaf, *Iliad*, Vol. II, 621 f.). For the Viking age in Northern Europe, cf. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, chap. xviii, especially p. 398.

One obvious explanation of such inconsistency is given by Passteris, *I miti inferni in Omero*, chap. ii. Homer used the *miti popolari* of his day, all crude, various, and unstable, no doubt. But he also had the poet's privilege of embellishing them, “the imagination of the poet alternating with that of the folk,” and of adapting them to the needs of his tale. So Draheim, *Die Odyssee als Kunstwerk*, 93; the general view of the kingdom of the dead was no poetic fiction, but “a popular belief.” Nevertheless the poet could *ohne Weiteres* in a further presentation of it introduce Hermes $\psi\chi\omega\mu\pi\delta$, and “both accounts have their poetic worth.” It is niggling criticism to

¹ And more than that. “The same people at the same period can hold *entirely contradictory ideas* about the place and the lot of the ghost.”—W. Farnell in *Folk-Lore* (1913), 391.

refuse to let the poet's fancy play and to forget that he is telling a story.¹ Rohde even admits that the *Grundstellungen* in the two *Nekyias* are the same—as Pasteris puts it (55 f.), “popolare nel fondo, e poetico solo in alcuni particolari quasi inevitabili all' artista, che Homero qua e là vi aveva aggiunto.” And cf. Hammer, *Quid Homerus de rebus inferis censuerit*, 13. The demand for completeness, accuracy, and symmetry in Homer's *Realien* is always unreasonable, and specially so in regard to the things that are unseen. The Greeks never had, we are told, a generally accepted system of dogmatic theology, with hell and the grave defined in a *credo*. In the infancy of the race, such theology as they had was *vago, pauroso, incerto*, and as such it is reflected in the national epic. But over all the diversity there is, in that epic, a uniformity even in this matter, a uniformity of a kind to suggest a single author of the poems. Professor Drerup finishes his study of religion as it is in Homer by saying that the treatment of divine matters, so full of contradictions at the first glance, “sich auflöst in der Harmonie einer höheren Einheit, in der reichen künstlerischen Persönlichkeit eines Dichters” (*op. cit.*, 420). The attempts to disprove that single personality which have been based on religious and mythological differences have failed as signally as the linguistic tests to provide any satisfying conclusion.

This paper was to have dealt with the whole question of the *Nekyia*, but I must pause here. The other objections to it, mere trifles compared with those based on the mythology, as well as to the “Recognition” scene in ω and the close of the book, must be reserved for later. I have already trespassed too freely on the generosity of the editor.

ST. ANDREWS
SCOTLAND

¹ In fact to repeat seriously Lucian's “Ομηρος οὐ πάντα ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψε.

THE UNITY OF THE ENCLITIC *NE*

BY ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON

More than thirty years have passed since Warren published his remarkable dissertation on the enclitic *ne*¹ in early Latin (*A.J.P.*, II [1881], 50–82). The completeness with which he justified the MS readings where these supported *ne* with demonstrative and personal pronouns in non-interrogative sentences still remains and will remain the admiration and despair of classical scholars. Such passages are Plaut. *Curc.* 139; *Epid.* 73, 541; *Mil.* 309, 565, 936; Ter. *Ad.* 770; *And.* 478; *H.T.* 950. Equally convincing to me is his discussion of *ne* in mocking responses, e.g. *egone?::tune*, *Capt.* 857; see pp. 186–7, below.

In the second part of his paper, pp. 76–82, Warren argued that the *ne* seen in these instances was an affirmative *ne*, distinct from the interrogative *ne* (which he considered as of negative origin). This thesis, which is quite independent of the acknowledged excellences of his contribution, is open to doubt, and, accordingly, I shall consider the claims of all the varied uses of the enclitic *ne* to be regarded as having sprung from a common ancestor—the negative *ne*.²

About ten years afterward Morris published his study of the sentence-question in Plautus and Terence (*A.J.P.*, X, 397 f.; XI, 16 f., 145 f.), which of course included the use of *ne* in such questions.³

¹ The vowel of *ne* will be marked only when long.

² As a pupil of Warren, and one who, like all his pupils, has the greatest reverence for his depth and breadth and thoroughness of scholarship, as well as his soundness of judgment, I long believed almost religiously in his theory as a whole, and it was only after nearly completing my study of the exclamatory infinitive that I began to question a part of it: e.g. Ennius *Trag.* 46 R.: *hoo dolet; mene obesse, illos prodesse; me obstare, illos obsequi!* Plaut. *Pseud.* 370–71: *numquid aliud etiam uoltis dicere?::equid te pudet? | :: ten amatorem esse inuentum inanem quasi cassam nucem!*

Warren disqualified these as exclamatory infinitives. I have shown elsewhere that psychologically, if not grammatically, a similar dependence holds for every exclamatory infinitive in Latin.

³ Before reading this I purposely made my own collections and classifications of *ne* in Plautus and Terence and studied the context. On reading Morris it was with great pleasure that I found my own conclusions identical with his on most of the important points. Where, after careful consideration, I differ from Morris and have confidence in my own conclusions, these will be noted on the following pages.

Morris had the great advantage of being able to avail himself of an investigation by Imme, *Die Fragesätze nach psychologischen Gesichtspunkten eingetheilt u. erläutert*, Cap. I-III, Cleve, 1879, Cap. IV-VI, 1881; the latter instalment was thus published in the same year with Warren's article, and therefore inaccessible to him. A consideration of the psychological aspects of the matter is essential to the understanding of *ne*, and so I give Imme's classification of questions, somewhat simplified to make it square with Priscian's treatment of *ne* (*GL.*, II, 101 f. K.).

I. Questions indicating doubt or open-mindedness on the part of the speaker; such questions being those asked in order to awaken interest, or to obtain information. When these use *ne* it is Priscian's interrogative or dubitative *ne*.

II. Questions indicating a definite conviction in the mind of the speaker; when *ne* is used in this kind of question it is Priscian's confirmative *ne*. These questions may be: (a) Questions of certainty, in which the speaker merely asks for the acceptance of his views: *faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?* These questions may be introduced by a confirmative (inferential) particle *ergo*, *uero*, *nempe*; cf. *οὐκοῦν*. These may develop into (b) questions of emotion, in which the speaker calls into prominence some situation that arouses his feelings, generally, but not necessarily, feelings of sadness, displeasure, e.g., Horace *C. i.* 24. 5: *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor | urget?* Ter. *And.* 803: *itan Chrysis—hem!* Plaut. *Asin.* 127: *sicine hoc fit? foras aedibus me eici! | promerenti optume hoccin preti redditur?* cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 231 f. These are in effect exclamations. The psychological unity of questions and exclamations is of course a matter of fact, and, if further proof of this is necessary, let me call attention to the fact that in Greek the exclamatory infinitive, which has no interrogative particle, is often marked with the sign of interrogation in minuscule MSS. See especially Arist. *Aves* 5 (6), 7 (8).¹

If I may attempt to harmonize Warren's theory with Imme's classification (see above), Warren held that the purely interrogative *ne* (used in I) was of negative origin, while in II (questions of certainty and questions of emotion) the *ne* was of affirmative origin.²

¹ The credit for this discovery belongs to Professor Randolph, who on noticing the sign of interrogation in some of the MSS in this passage was started on his investigation, the results of which were published in *C.P.*, V, 309-19.

² Warren would probably not have called these questions at all.

The evidence which he presented to prove the existence of the latter is in brief as follows:

1. The evidence of grammarians, scholiasts, and glosses explaining *ne* as equivalent to *ergo*, *uero*, *enim* (Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–65).
2. Statements of the grammarians and scholiasts referring to a confirmative or affirmative *ne*.
3. Passages in Plautus and Terence with *ne* can be paralleled from these authors themselves by passages of the same meaning without *ne* where the force of *ne* is expressed by such words as *uero*, *ergo*, *enim*.
4. Some supposedly cognate etymological forms: Warren, p. 76; cf. Walde, s.v. *ne* and *enim*, and the literature there cited.

There is no doubt that in most of the passages that Warren discussed, the *ne* has precisely the force that he said it had, but when it comes to proving etymological origins the evidence is indirect and inconclusive; e.g. (1) is largely invalidated by the fact that *an* is glossed in the same way: Servius ad Verg. *Bucol.* 3. 21; cf. Charisius, *GL.*, I, 229 K. I shall take up these various points in greater detail later as they come up in the course of my paper.¹

Let me now discuss questions indicating conviction in the mind of the speaker (II) and the treatment by ancient grammarians of passages in which they occur:

- a) Questions of certainty (see p. 175) Ter. *And.* 17: faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant? Donatus: 1. 'ne' quidam corripiunt et cum interrogatione pronuntiant; quidam producunt. quorum alii 'ne' pro nonne accipiunt, i.e., non; alii 'ne' pro ualde ut (*Ad.* iv. 2. 1 [540]) 'ne ego homo sum infelix' et Cicero (*in Cat.* ii. 3. 6) 'ne illi ueh. e.' 2. *Et hoc melius, nam statim infert 'quorum aemulari*

¹ The etymological evidence for confirmative "hervorhebendes" *ne* is as follows: Latin *sin*, *donique donicum donec*, *denique*, *quandone*, "zu irgend welcher Zeit," *quin*, "irgendwie," and its compounds *alioquin*, etc.; Umbr. *arnipo*, *nersa*, *perne*; Greek *ἴγρων*, *τίνη*, *δε* (=δε); Av. *-na* appended to interrogative pronoun, *kas-na*; O.H.G. *-na*: ne weist tu na "nescisne?" O.Icel. *per-na* "tibi-met." Person, "Ueber d. demonstrativen Pronominalstamm *no-* *ne-* u. Verwandtes," *I.F.* II (1893), 199–260.

There are very strong reasons for doubting the identity of this pronominal stem with our clitic *ne*; e.g., except *Trin.* 1095 *qualine*, *ne* is never attached to an interrogative pronoun in early Latin; the division *ἴγρων*, *τίνη* deserves consideration (cf. Hirt, *Handbuch*, §§ 361, 1; 363 anm.); *quandone*, *quin* and its compounds in the senses above noted have no real support in early Latin and are probably the analogical formations of a later age, and if *sin* really were *si uero*, its use ought not to be confined to introducing the opposite, i.e. the negative, of a proposition expressed or implied in the context immediately preceding; cf. Ribbeck, *Part.*, 14 f.

exoptat n.p.q.i.o.d.' 3. Ne nimis, multum, plurimum. The view that *ne* here = the asseverative *nē* made postpositive—which D. here strangely enough accepts—is absurd, since there is no passage where the *ne* thus placed must have or even may have ē, and there are plenty of places where it must have ē or is reduced to *n'*. Cf. *H.T.* 563: *uidin ego te?* (glossed by Julius Rufinianus: *non ego te uidi?*) *Ad.* 83: *dixin?* *And.* 495: *edixin?* (glossed in *Cod. Par.* 7900 A by *nonne dixi?* and *nonne edixi?* respectively). Though this view may be correct enough for practical purposes, Morris has shown (*A.J.P.*, XI, 19–21) that the *nonne* effect is due quite as much to the context as to the original negative force of *ne*. These passages are questions of certainty asking an assent rather than an answer. When they use *ne* it is *ne confirmatiua*. The *locus classicus* dealing with *ne* is Priscian, *GL.*, II, 101 K.: “*Dubitatiuae sunt quae dubitationem significant, ut an, ne correpta, necne ut Vergilius in III (39) Aeneidos ‘eloquar an sileam?’ idem in I (329) Aeneidos ‘an Phoebi soror an Nympharum sanguinis una?’ idem in XI (126) ‘iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?’ frequentissime tamen eaedem interrogatiuae sunt, ut Vergilius in III (319) Aeneidos ‘Hectoris Andromache Pyrrhin’ conubia seruas?’ idem in X (668) ‘tanton’ me crimine dignum?’ *Haec eadem inuenitur et pro confirmatiua ut Horatius in II (3. 97) sermonum ‘clarus erit fortis iustus sapiensne etiam et rex.’ idem in I (10. 21) ‘O seri studiorum, quine putetis | difficile et mirum Rhodio quod Pitholeonti | contigit!’ Terentius in *Andria*¹ † ‘nuncine demum istud uerbum in te incidit.’ hic enim *ne* coniunctio nec interrogatiua nec dubitatiua sed confirmatiua est. Vergilius in X (846) ‘tantane me tenuit uiuendi, nate, uoluptas | ut pro me hostili paterer succumbere dextra?’ | Est enim pro *etiam*.*”*

Priscian was an authority, perhaps we might say *the* authority, on the subject, and this is shown by the intrinsic soundness of his note, as well as by the fact that he is quoted by [Acron] on Horace *S. i.* 10. 21 (see p. 184), and yet he has been flagrantly misinterpreted by the moderns, e.g., Hand, *Turs.*, IV, p. 77, and Ritter on Horace *S. ii.* 3. 97. Warren, however, took him correctly, and I shall take the liberty of

¹ Cf. 683: *quaero.::hem, nuncin demum?* 882: *Pa. me miserum! Si. hem, modone id demum sensti, Pamphile?* 883: *olim istuc, 885: eodem die istuc uerbum uere in te accidit.*

restating his interpretation with one slight variation (Horace *S.* ii. 3. 97) and with a few additions. Priscian's treatment of the interrogative and dubitative *ne* needs no comment. Then he goes on to say "haec eadem [i.e. *ne correpta*] inuenitur et *pro confirmatiua*." He does not allow the term *ne confirmatiua* to burst suddenly upon us, but makes the transition through the intermediate phrase *pro confirmatiua, with confirmative force*. An examination of the four passages quoted by Priscian shows that he has illustrated this use with considerable variety, and the fact that all the examples (except possibly Hor. *S.* i. 10. 21) seemed interrogative (and not confirmative) caused most scholars to conclude with undue haste that Priscian was all wrong. This of one of the great grammarians of antiquity! Regarding the first example, Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 97, [Acron] says of *sapiensne*, "aut interrogatio audientis aut dicentis dubitatio." If it be the latter, it is of course not confirmative, but if it be the 'interrogatio audientis' (as it is generally taken) Priscian may be justified. The Stoic, hearing the wealthy man exalted in much the same terms as those in which he was himself accustomed to exalt the wise man 'clarus erit fortis iustus' . . . , ironically injects 'sapiensne?' well knowing that Staberius would claim that distinction also, and sure enough Staberius continues, answering, 'etiam [yes indeed] et rex.' It is hardly necessary that we should require Priscian or his MSS to indicate change of speaker. As regards the Terence passage, Priscian either quoted from memory, or his MSS were corrupt. However, *And.* 683 illustrates the confirmative use of *ne* with *nunc*, and 882 with *modo*. So also the Vergil passage is an emotional question.¹ Horace *S.* i. 10. 21 will be discussed later under *ne* with relative pronouns. After all, then, Priscian is absolutely sound and sane. If there is anything in his note at which one might cavil, it is his "est enim pro *etiam*," and even here he is not wrong, though some of us might have preferred *ergo* or *uero* instead. Accordingly, Priscian's examples illustrate what he desired to illustrate, but his language, far from supporting a separate etymology for confirmative *ne*, is really opposed to it. It is to be noted that P. does not refer to *ne* as affirmative; the nearest he came to so doing was to use the term

¹ It is quite probable that the Vergilian quotation should come in earlier, immediately after the Terence citation.

adfirmatiua of words of which *ne confirmatiua* is in general the equivalent—*nam, enim, ergo, etiam*. That the term *adfirmatiua* is simply lax usage as applied to *ne* may be seen in [Acron's] note to Horace *S. i. 10. 21*, where he misquotes the above-quoted passage of Priscian to the extent of using the term *adfirmatiua*.¹ This shows how easily grammatical terms grew, and how cautious one must be in accepting grammatical terms as evidence to establish etymological origins.

Ne WITH PRONOUNS

In his discussion of *ne* with demonstrative and with personal pronouns Morris (*A.J.P.*, X, 422-30) very properly makes the division between the purely interrogative and the emotional use of *ne*. Of the latter he says, p. 429, "They refer backward, taking up some previous idea, which may have been distinctly expressed or only implied, and repeating it in an exclamatory way, so as to suggest that it is untenable." He thus emphasizes the fact that the emotion is regularly one of dissatisfaction with the fact or the conception involved, the effect of which is repudiation. While this is undoubtedly true for the subjunctive, his generalization is not entirely correct, as he himself points out by quoting *Most. 10* and 508, and I shall cite further instances later. Furthermore, when we realize that any of these repudiations may be expressed without *ne* and without the pronoun to which it is said to give repudiative emphasis, we must accordingly conclude that when the repudiation exists, it is the context that shows it, and we must remain open-minded to the possibility that contexts might exist in which the use of these pronouns with *ne* disclosed a situation which the speaker not only did not repudiate but in which he actually would take delight.²

¹ The statement of Cod. Par. 7610, 2d part, p. 52 (and also of Cod. Par. 7611, p. 105, and Cod. Par. 7612, p. 115): "*Ne aduerbium corripitur scilicet pro enim uel pro nonne hoc est interrogativum uel affirmativum. Dehortativum uero producitur et coniunctio similiter,*" quoted by Warren, p. 57, is sound and goes back to a good grammatical source, but in it *affirmativum* is used loosely for *confirmativum* as in the note of [Acron]. *Affirmatus* and *confirmatus* are synonymous terms, and each varies in meaning from 'corroborative' to 'affirmative.' I purposely avoid 'affirmative' in this discussion as being of a more special meaning in English, and therefore likely to mislead.

² To show how important it is to remain open-minded in this matter, let me cite the case of the exclamatory infinitive. It used to be held that this also was repudiative, and, so long as scholars held to that view, they were powerless to deal with *Phorm. 339 tene*. However, when Cic. *Tusc. i. 98 tene* and Pliny *Ep. iv. 3 hominemne* were cited,

What the *ne* does is to direct attention to, and to lay stress on, a particular word *egone*, *tune*, *hicine*, and as a result of its use in these situations the *ne* (at the expense of the interrogative function) acquired a new power, namely, that of becoming a particle of emphasis by directing the attention to the chief person or thing involved in producing the emotion. The growth of the intensive force of *ne* at the expense of its interrogative force was facilitated also by the more or less downward inflection of the voice which questions of certainty imply.

Ne WITH DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Amph. 362: *haecine tua domust?::ita inquam.* *Rud.* 110: *isticine uos habitatis?::quid tu id quaeritas?* These two instances are purely interrogative and ask for information. The next passage illustrates the transition from interrogative to confirmative, the latter use having the help of *ergo*. *Cist.* 746: *hicine tu ergo habitas? ::hariolare!*¹ Another example shows the confirmative use more clearly defined. *Nausistrata*, realizing the double life of her husband Chremes, and the cause of his frequent absence, exclaims (*Phorm.* 1012): *haecine erant itiones crebrae et mansiones diutinae | Lemni? haecine erat ea quae nostros minuit fructus uilitas?* In the next example recent editors have substituted (!) for (?), as indeed they might have done in many other places, including the above passage from *Phormio*. *Hec.* 282: *heu me infelicem, hancine ego uitam parsi perdere! | hacine causa ego eram tantopere cupidus redeundi domum!* The *ne* is here in exactly the same stage of development as in the exclamatory infinitive. So at the end of Callicles' splendid self-

not to speak of *Astin.* 580 and *Phorm.* 884, neither of which contained *ne*, the context came into its own. See *C.P.*, IX, 64f. Here I may state that Warren may have been right when he defended *men*, *Eun.* 931, though I should punctuate as follows: *tum hoc alterum, | id uerost quod ego mihi puto palmarium: | men repperisse, quo modo adulescentulus | meretricum ingenia et mores posset noscere, | mature ut quom cognorit perpetuo oderit!* See the whole passage, especially 925. Now the exclamatory infinitive is interchangeable with these emotional questions in the indicative. The only difference seems to be that the exclamatory infinitive, being a substantive clause, shows greater concentration and power; cf. *Asin.* 127-28; *Ad.* 237; *Phorm.* 231-33.

¹ *Most.* 10: *em, hoccine uolebas?* is in form a question to determine Grumio's wishes, and shows the fond regard Tranio had for his feelings, and the delight he took in trying to satisfy them. *Most.* 508 *hicine percussit?*—whether spoken from within the house or by Tranio—cannot possibly be taken repudiatively. Line 516 seems to indicate that it belongs to the voice from within.

justification, *Trin.* 186: em mea malefacta, em meam auaritiam tibi, | hascine (hasce A) propter res maledicas famas ferunt!

Warren's examples show the continuation of the development of *ne*. *Epid.* 541; plane hicinest | qui mi in Epidauro uirgini primu' pudicitiam perpulit! The transition of *ne* to the subordinate clause is illustrated by *And.* 478: hicine me si inparatum in ueris nuptiis | adortus esset, quos me ludos redderet! *Hicine* was probably intended originally to be the subject of *redderet*. *Quos* came in as a slight anacoluthon, after the subordinate verb had practically appropriated *hicine*. The full development of *ne* is seen in the next two examples. *Epid.* 73: haecine ubi scibit senex, | puppis pereunda est probe. *Mil.* 309: hoccine si miles sciatur, | credo hercle hos sustollat aedis totas atque hunc in crucem. Note that the *ne* comes directly before *ubi* or *si*, the latter being the usual word as will be seen more clearly in the use of *ne* with personal pronouns.

Ne WITH RELATIVE PRONOUNS

At this point the use of *ne* with demonstrative adverbs and with personal pronouns would logically come up, but as the evidence bearing upon these combinations can be used with more telling effect after *ne* with relative pronouns has been treated, I digress to take up its use in combination with the relative, and that brings up the displacement of *ne* from the clause in which it strictly belongs. Cf. *Trin.* 1017: non pudet te? tribu'ne te poteris | memoriam esse oblitum!¹ *Cas.* 117: quid tu mihi facies?::egone quid faciam tibi? the latter being a condensation of *rogasne quid ego faciam tibi?* Accordingly, the displacement of *ne* by suppressing the expression with which it really belonged was another influence to weaken its purely interrogative functions and to heighten its confirmative power to such an extent that its interrogative force might be eliminated altogether. First I shall quote the instances where the interrogative force is prominent. *Rud.* 861: quid ego deliqui?::rogas? | quin arrabonem a me accepisti ob mulierem | et eam hinc abduxisti?² *Truc.* 506: peperit puerum nimium lepidum.::ehem, ecquid mei

¹ Cf. *And.* 868 f., where the *nonne* is not split.

² Cf. *Amph.* 571: *rogasne, inprobe, etiam qui ludos facis me?* Cf. *Phorm.* 156.

similest? : : rogas? | quin¹ ubi natust machaeram et clupearum poscebat sibi? So probably *Bacch.* 332: sed istic Theotimus diuesne est? : : etiam rogas? | quin habeat auro soccis suppactum solum? (quin Bothe, qui MSS). So probably *Mil.* 66: itane aibant tandem? : : quaen me ambae obsecrauerint | ut te hodie quasi pomparam illa praeterducerem?

In the last two instances the subjunctive is a causal relative, "the folly of your asking, since really" *Rud.* 767: ignem magnam hic faciam. : : quin inhumanum exuras tibi? "with which to burn the inhumanity out of you?"—surely a consummation devoutly to be wished. In the next three instances the *ne* is confirmative, meaning *nempe*.² *Mil.* 13: quemne ego seruaui . . . ? *Trin.* 360: quin comedit quod fuit, quod non fuit? *Truc.* 406: tonstricem Suram | nouistin nostram? : : quaen erga aedem sese habet? | noui. "Of course you mean him (her) who (whom). . . ." The next instance occurs in a clause showing great surprise at something just told. *Epid.* 719: quamne hodie per urbem uterque sumus defessi quaerere? The emotion of surprise may be so strong as practically to be repudiative. So *Most.* 738: (That the wind deserted our ship) quaen subducta erat | tuto in terra? *Amph.* 697: (That she finish her sleep) quaen vigilans somniet? *Circ.* 705: (That no one carry away from you the money) quodne promisti? *Rud.* 1019: (That I let go the wallet) quemne ego excepti in mari . . . | mea opera labore et rete et horia? 1231: (That that be another's) quodne ego inueni in mari? *Phorm.* 923: (That I order the money conveyed back to you) quodne ego discripsi porro illis quibus debui?³ So with *quian*, *Most.* 1132; *Pers.* 851; possibly *Truc.* 696 (Spengel); *Cist.* 251(?); Verg. *Aen.* iv. 538; Statius *Theb.* x. 592.⁴ So with *quodne* (causal), *Merc.* 573.⁴

In the next two passages *ne* looks forward to the repudiative clause: *Mil.* 614: quodne uobis placeat⁴ displiceat mihi? Caecilius

¹ Here the *quin* might with less probability be the corroborative *quin*.

² Cf. *Epid.* 449, where Goetz conjectured *quemne* for the MSS *nempe quem*. That, however, was before Skutsch demonstrated monosyllabic *nemp'*.

³ There are several passages that would gain in clearness by the addition of *ne* to the relative, e.g., Ter. *Phorm.* 69: quoин tanta erat res et supererat? cf. *Mil.* 973 (Ritschl).

⁴ Subjunctive by attraction.

147R.: (Ribbeck's probable restoration) *quaen mihi quidquid placet eo priuatum it me seruatam uelim?*¹ So *Rud.* 272: *quaen eiectae e mari simus² ambae, obseero, | unde nos hostias agere uoluisti huc?* involves a repudiation, but instead we have *unde . . . huc* used by anacoluthon as a softened form of rejection. The delicate situation *And.* 768: *quemne ego heri uidi ad uos adferri uesperi?* required that the repudiation should be implied and not expressed. Donatus: *uult negando irritare mulierem ad confirmanda quae uult.*

In the next three instances a return is seen to the retrospective *ne*, but apart from showing that the emotion continues, it is pleonastic. *Catullus* 64. 180: *an patris auxilium sperem quemne ipsa reliqui | respersum iuuenum fraterna caede secuta? | coniugis an fido consoler memet amore | quine fugit lentoſ incuruans gurgite remos?* *Verg. Aen.* x. 673: *quid manus illa uirum qui me meaque arma secuti, | quoſne (neſas) omnes infanda in morte reliqui . . . ?*

In the following instances the *ne* looks forward and would naturally have been joined to a word belonging to the main clause: *Cist.* 675: *quamne in manibus tenui atque accepi hic ante aedis | cistellam, ubi ea sit nescio.* There the lady is so utterly confused that she doesn't ask the question she set out to ask, and we have, as after *Rud.* 272, an anacoluthon. *Rud.* 111: *quon furatum mox uenias, uestigas loca?* (text Leo, an quo MSS); *Stich.* 501: *quaen ipsa [or eapse] deciens in die mutat locum, | eam auspicau ego in re capitali mea?*

The next three instances show the extreme development of *ne* with relatives. They are similar to *Bacch.* 332 and *Mil.* 66 in containing subjunctives of cause with the relatives, but differ from them in that the interrogative force has passed beyond recall, and so we have a full-fledged exclamation exactly equivalent to an exclamatory infinitive except that the cause rather than the fact is made prominent. *Ad.* 262: *illius opera, Sure, nunc uiuo, festiuom caput, | quin omnia sibi post putarit esse piae meo commodo!* Donatus: "admiratiue additum *quin* et sic pronuntiandum—*quin:* τὸ πλῆρες *quine.*" Note that *festiuom* prepares us for the exclamation of

¹ Here belong the instances of *ne* with *ut*-repudiatives: *Epid.* 225; *Merc.* 576; *Rud.* 1063; *Hec.* 66, 199; *Phorm.* 874; *Horace S.* ii. 5. 18. I cannot accept the reasoning of Morris, *A.J.P.*, XI, 176–77, that the *ut* here is interrogative.

² Subjunctive by attraction.

pleasure. Hor. *S. i.* 10. 21: O seri studiorum, quine putetis . . . ! This may be paraphrased: o seri studiorum, uosne putare. . . . ! Porph.: *ne* adiectum, ut *egone, tune*; abundat *ne* syllaba: o seri stud. qui putetis.¹ . . . Note that Porph. identifies the *ne* in *quine* with the *ne* in *egone, tune* which must be taken as *egone?* : *tune*. The *ne* in *tune* was therefore regarded by him as a short syllable. *Cist.* 653–54: Nullam ego me uidisse credo magis anum excruciam-
lem | quam illaec est: quae dudum fassast mihi, quaen infitias eat! Freely: “Confound the old hag, for proceeding to deny what she a little while ago ‘fessed up to me!’”²

Ne WITH PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Above has been indicated the development of *ne* with demonstrative and relative pronouns from its purely interrogative functions to those in which it becomes a particle of emotional emphasis, conviction and assurance. The same development may be seen in its use with the personal pronouns, though some of the intermediate stages are here less clearly marked. The transition from the interrogative to the intensive uses of *ne* with personal pronouns may be seen in such passages as *Eun.* 963: hem, | obsecro, an is est? where Donatus has the following note: ‘insultanter, ut in *Phorm.* (945) *ho, tune is eras?* nam sciebat ipsum esse.’ While it is frankly to be admitted that both Plautus and Terence carried the interrogative-repudiative use of *egone?* *tune?* etc., to ridiculous lengths (Plautus himself ridiculing the practice at *Trin.* 69), still, editors have in many places been too free in introducing repudiative force into passages where the MSS give them little or no support for so doing. *Asin.* 900: (Artemona

¹ [Aeron]: pro *putatione*, uel ut sit adfirmativa secundum Priscianum pro *etiam*. (See p. 177) *quine*: quasi *curne*: aut uacat *ne* ut *qui* pronomen sit. The moderns who, as Keller, *Epill.*, make *quine* = interrogative *curne* or who, like Schmalz, *B.P.W.* (1907), 1292, regard *quine putetis* as a contamination of *qui putetis* and *putatione?* are wide of the mark.

² *Truec.* 534: paenitetne te quot ancillas alam, | quin examen super adducas quae mihi comedint cibum? Here *quin* is almost certainly “without” after the implied negative in *paenitetne*; but cf. Lorenz on *Mos.* 738 and Warren, *op. cit.*, 81–82; *Mil.* 588: sat edepol certo scio | occissam saepe sapere plus multo suem: | quoin id admatur ne id quod uidit uiderit. The uncertainty of the text in the last line, and the possibility of a lacuna (see Lorenz) before it, render it impossible for me to deal satisfactorily with this passage, though the expression may well mean “for verily that is taken away from her [him].”

and the parasite are eavesdropping) ARG. quid ais, pater? | ecquid matrem amas? DE. egone illam nunc amo—quia non adest. | ARG. quid quom adest? DE. periisse cupio. | PARASITE (to Art.) amat homo hic te, ut praedicat. Pareus was the first to introduce the mark of interrogation after *illam*, and he has since been universally followed. But if this were repudiative, there would be no need of the later question, *quid quom adest?* So possibly *Truc.* 898: STRAT. quid, Astaphium, litiumst? AS. merito ecastor tibi suscenset. PH. egon,¹ atque isti etiam parum | male uolo.²

Another passage where the repudiative force is doubtful is *Asin.* 884–86: egon ut non domo uxori meae | surrupiam in deliciis pallam quam habet atque ad te deferam,³ | non edepol conduci possum uita uxoris annua; *Poen.* 428: egone egone, si istuc lepide ecfexis—::i modo:: | ut non ego te hodie—::abi modo::emittam manu— | ::i modo::non hercle meream.⁴

I come now to the passages that are surely not repudiative.

Ne attached to a word that *must* belong to the main clause—*Curc.* 139: tibine ego, si fidem seruas mecum, uineam pro aurea | statua statuam, quae tuo gutturi sit monumentum.

Ne attached to a word that may belong either to the main or to the subordinate clause: *Mil.* 936: egone hoc si ecficiam plane, | ut concubinam militis meus hospes habeat hodie | atque huic Athenas auehat, (si) hodie hunc dolum dolamus, | quid tibi ego mittam muneris! *H.T.* 950: Sed Syrum quidem egone si uiuo adeo exornatum dabo, | adeo depexum, ut dum uiuat meminerit semper mei.⁵

Ne attached to a word that belongs to a subordinate clause, though this may be due to anacoluthon: *Mil.* 565: egone si post hunc diem | muttiuero, etiam quod egomet certo sciam, | dato excruciantum me. *Ad.* 770: tun si meus esses—::dis quidem esses,

¹ Text Camerarius.

² Cf. *Curc.* 664; *H.T.* 608, 740; *Eun.* 101, 305, 778, 1026.

³ Warren, *op. cit.*, 53–54, was the first to delete (?) after *deferam*, and his view has been widely accepted.

⁴ Warren's discussion of this passage, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53, may well entitle him to be regarded as its Oedipus.

⁵ In Warren's copy of Lindsay's Plautus, I find *Curc.* 294 thus emended: eos egon si offendero, | ex unoquoque eorum crepitum exciam polentarium. *Ne* may have been lost also from other passages, e.g., *Ter. And.* 164: quem quidem egon, si sensero . . . ; *Eun.* 989: egon te, furcifer, si uiuo. . . .

Demea, | ac tuam rem constabilisses.:exemplo omnibus | curarem
ut eses.

The extreme use of confirmative *ne* is seen in mocking responses of the type *egone?::tune*. The juxtaposition of these two antipodal uses of *ne* has led many scholars, e.g., Morris on *Capt.* 857, to explain the echoing *ne* as the asseverative *nē* and consequently to print it divisim. Warren has shown, *op. cit.*, 70, that no metrical tests can prove that the vowel here was long. On the other hand he has pointed out that the mocking effect and rapidity of movement would be lost if it were long, and that, furthermore, MSS do not support the printing of it divisim. That the vowel of the echoing *ne* was short is confirmed by Porphyrio's note on Horace *S. i.* 10. 21 quoted on p. 184. Furthermore, the usage seems confined to Plautus, an author who was extremely fond of alliteration and echo,¹ e.g., *Pers.* 212: *heia?::beia*. *Pseud.* 235: *at—::bat*, and better still the monolog *Epid.* 94 f.: *at enim tu | praecaue. | at enim—bat enim! nihil est istuc*. So *Rud.* 565–67, quoted by Warren (cf. *Aul.* 293–94): *nemp' meae?::nemp' nescio istuc?::qua sunt facie?::scitula. | uel ego amare utramuis possum, si probe adpotus siem. | ::nemp' puellae?::nemp' molestus es. *Curc.* 7: at tandem, tandem—::tandem es odiosus mihi.*

The two examples with *enim* and *nempe* are particularly pertinent, as these words are among those used to show the force of confirmative *ne*. The instances are as follows: *egone?::tune*. *Capt.* 857, *Epid.* 575, *Trin.* 634, *Mil.* 439 (Ritschl). I propose the following as the correct reading for *Truc.* 586: ::*inpudens mecastor*, *Cuame*, 's?::*egone?::tune*. ::*bona fide?* *St.* 635:*egone?::tune*. ::*mihine?::tibine*. Here should be cited Warren's attractive reading of *Most.* 955: *egone?::tune*. ::*tun(e) molestu's*. "I forsooth?—You, forsooth! 'Sooth you are troublesome.'" Leo's reading of *Most.* 580: *reddeturne igitur faenus?::reddeturne. abi.* is the nearest to the MSS *reddetur nunc abi*. At *Pers.* 220 *itanest?::itanest?::mala's?::scelestu's*, it would be pure folly to read the second *itanest* as an interrogative. Probably Acidalius' reading of *Truc.* 696

¹ Schrader, *De particularum 'ne' 'anne' 'nonne' ap. Platum prosodia*, 11 n., denies that *ne* here could be enclitic, since it does not agree with his rules; but Warren, by insisting that this usage involved an echo and was therefore formulaic, had put it beyond the reach of the regular prosody of *ne*.

(*iamne* for *anne*) contains another instance of the echo: eu edepol hominem nihil!: :iamne autem ut soles? | : :iamne—nihil dico.

A very clear illustration of the development of the confirmative out of the interrogative use of *ne* is seen in connection with *satis*; cf. especially the words of *Auxilium*, *Cist.* 150 f.: *satin uix reliquit deo quod loqueretur loci, | ita properauit de puellae proloqui | suppositione.* See Morris, *op. cit.*, X, 434. Lists of 'affirmative' *-ne*, such as that of Mulvany in *C.R.*, IX, 15 f., are bound to be unsatisfactory, since no sharp line can be drawn between the two uses.

The above survey is intended to elucidate some of the less obvious uses of *ne* and to show the wide range through which it operated—from its purely interrogative use, which is admittedly an outgrowth of the negative, to its ultra-confirmative use which is in effect affirmative. Antipodal though these uses are, the evidence adduced above has nevertheless led me to believe that the *ne* involved is after all to be explained on the hypothesis of an original unity developing into diversity rather than an original duality with development in lines fairly distinct.

The dual theory so ably expounded by Warren has won wide acceptance, yet is by no means essential to the value of his paper. The etymological evidence in favor of affirmative *ne* is indirect, unconvincing, and fanciful. After all, "stemmata quid faciunt?" In the Brix-Niemeyer editions on *Mil.* 309, *Trin.* 129, 634, there is found along with a statement of Warren's theory a modification of it to the effect that in the confirmative use of *ne* we may have the asseverative *nē* shortened, and made postpositive and enclitic. However, the very thorough study of asseverative *nē* by Fleckeisen in *Phil.*, II, 61 f. had already made this suggestion improbable.

An attempt to prove the unity of *ne* was made by Probst, *Beiträge zur lat. Gram.*, II, 135–36, who suggested that *ne* was originally neutral, i.e., neither negative nor affirmative, but that it acquired negative or affirmative meaning, as the case might be, through association. The criticism of Morris in *A.J.P.*, XI, 172, is conclusive against this theory. "Not to dwell upon some obvious difficulties—e.g., that it does not account for the negative sense of *ni*—the theory is sufficiently condemned by the fact that it leaves the Latin language

without any negative at all until after the interrogative sentence was fully developed."

Another theory of unity is that of Glöckner, who in *ALL.*, XI, 491 f., argues that *ne* was originally a confirmative ("hervorhebende") particle and that its interrogative use was an outgrowth of this. Aside from the psychological considerations which may be urged against this theory, the following fact ought to make us regard it with caution: in Plautus *ne* had not yet reached a stage where it attached itself to *non* except occasionally before vowels or *h*, thus pointing to a negative origin. In Terence the combination *nonne* was beginning to come in also before consonants. See Schrader, *op. cit.*, 45. The very carefully regulated use of confirmative *ne* points toward its development from the interrogative use rather than the reverse. The fact that in early Latin *ne* is not joined with the interrogative pronoun except *Trin.* 1095 (*qualine*) is significant.

My own theory of unity is similar to that sketched by Morris, *A.J.P.*, XI, 173, footnote (his note to *Capt.* 857 seems to indicate that he did not carry his earlier theory to its logical conclusion), and sets out with negative *ne*. Through the close connection of the interrogative with the negative the particle found its way into questions. The original identity of question and exclamation and the tendency of *ne* to attach itself to an emphatic pronoun, both in questions and exclamations, developed it by association into a particle of emotional emphasis, and so it could be used with demonstrative, personal, and even with relative pronouns in sentences in which all interrogative force had been eliminated. Thus the original negative was first weakened, then neutralized,¹ then in certain situations it swung even beyond the neutral and acquired the confirmative force of which Priscian speaks.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

¹ Of the neutralization of a negative let me cite two clear instances:

1. *Quin* (cf. O. Kienitz: *De 'quin' particulae apud priscos scriptores Latinos usu*. Carlsruhe [1878]), originally *qui+ne* 'why not?' 'how not?'. When the force of the negative was applied retrogressively as in *Capt.* 1017: *quid tu ais?* adduxit illum huius captiuorum filium? | :*quin* inquam intus hic est, 'Why no, I tell you, he's inside here.' *quin* developed the force of a corroborative, and so by lax usage it came to be used with the imperative, e.g., *quin tace=tace*, which was developed out of the earlier use *quin taces?* = *tace*.

2. *obkov* (which might be either *obk obv* or *obkovv*, see Elmsley on Eur. *Heracl.* 256) could be either *non ergo*, *non igitur* (declarative), or *nonne ergo?* *nonne igitur?* In the latter sense it might be written *obkovv* meaning *ergo*, *igitur*, used not merely in inferential questions but even in answers.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE HOMERIC AUGMENT AGAIN¹

In *CP*, VII, 397 ff. I took certain objections to the statistics and procedure by which Mr. J. J. Drewitt essayed (*CQ*, VI, 44 ff. and 104 ff.) to establish a new theory of the Homeric augment. In *CP*, VIII, 349 ff. he exhibits more statistics and more arguments, and does so with extraordinary assurance. They are, however, even poorer than his original collection. I take his matter as it comes, and, for brevity's sake, presuppose on the part of my readers some knowledge of his and my previous papers.

First, Mr. Drewitt resuscitates "type *ἀκοντε*." He asks why there is not a single instance of it in the similes. No one can say, but no one need wonder. To those who have not time to delve for themselves, the question is presented as something formidable. Those who know that the similes occupy less than 1,000 of the 28,000 lines in the poems; that the aorists in them do not number 150, that only 40 of these are cases for the temporal augment, and that these 40 are *from only 23 different verbs*, will smile as they regard this limited scope for the type. Let that suffice for the present. Nor is the case to be helped by a list of words and combinations of the value - -. Such are to be found, of course. Homer could no doubt have avoided them had he pleased; the point is that he could not do so as easily as he could avoid "type *ἡκοντε*," where he had only to drop the augment to get the form - - - which we know he liked better.

But Mr. Drewitt, "so careful of the type," clutches at other straws. The "offensive type *ἡκοντε*" is "much commoner in the narrative of the *Odyssey*"—the poem of the late age in which "speech" had come in and the epic was no longer, as Mr. Drewitt would have us believe it once was, "limited to narrative and similes." The figures are, *Il.** 22, *Od.* 20,² or, allowing for the smaller area of narrative in the *Odyssey*, say 22:30. An enormous difference! But what we want, of course, is not occurrences, but separate aorists. *Fifteen* of the 20 occurrences in the *Odyssey* are of only 3 aorists—*ἰκόντο*, *ῶιξε(av)*, and *ἡγέρθη!* Is it necessary to say more? The case is to be supported by statistics of "spondaic datives in -εσται," which "go up by leaps and bounds in the *Odyssey*." They are sure to be an interesting study to anyone who has the time for it. Let no man be satisfied with the mere brute totals.³

¹ I regret the delay in the appearance of this reply, but I did not see Mr. Drewitt's note till a summary in the *BPW* of November 22 last drew my attention to it.

² By *Il.** I mean the *Iliad* shorn by Mr. Drewitt of 494-end, Θ, Ι, Κ, Ψ, and Ω.

³ Since this was written I have tabulated these datives for myself, and am more than ever anxious to see the proof.

On a second point, syllabics +δέ, Mr. Drewitt assumes a tone of mingled patronage and banter which, in view of the result, will be seen to be really ludicrous. On my explanation of the rarity of the type ἔθηκε δέ after the 3d trochee, the lofty comment is, "very good indeed; τριδραχμόν γε θοῦρμήνεντα." And then comes the crushing retort, if ἔθηκε δέ be so rare "why is type ἔγειρε δέ so startlingly actual?" Mr. Drewitt can produce "no less than" 10 instances from *Iliad** (narrative)—10 instances, mind you, in 6,650 lines. They swarm! But let us accept them with due respect. He has not observed, or does not trouble to mention, a certain difference that is patent between the two sets of occurrences. Every one of his 10 is of a *verb commencing with a vowel*, and that is the explanation of this (to quote his elegant *ipsissima verba*) "trifle" which "Mr. Shewan and the ungrateful Homer" are to "settle between themselves." Homer does not absolutely reject an amphibrach after the 3d trochee. I showed before that there are 304 such cases in the poems, that in 154 of them the form is followed by δέ, and that in 91 of these latter the word is a verb. Homer must often have wanted to put an aorist 3d pers. indic. in that particular place, but the 4th trochee gave him pause. What did the ingrate do? If the aorist was syllabic, he generally let it go; he could use the verb, augmented or not, elsewhere. But if it was one of Mr. Drewitt's verbs, ἔγειρω, ἀμίνω, etc., he had either to use it unaugmented or use it augmented elsewhere in the verse. But, if he adopted the latter alternative, he imposed on himself the form — — ~ which we know from statistics he did not like so well. Is it then strange that we find more cases of "type ἔγειρε δέ" than of "type ἔθηκε δέ"? Is the "puzzle" Mr. Drewitt propounds τριδραχμον? Is it worth a wretched ήμωβόλιον? Rather, εἰς κόρακας θοῦρμήνεντα.

But he goes farther—and fares even worse. *Quem deus*—but the saying is "somewhat musty." I had shown the weakness of his statistics of syllabics +δέ by pointing out, *what he had passed over in silence*, that the mass of them, only a "trifle" (as he would say) of two-thirds of them, were initial in the line. "Very good" is his remark again (this time without a money value), and he goes on to ask why the syllabic +δέ is "so relatively rare in *Iliad**." Here he is, as Mark Twain once put it, riven by a perfect thunderbolt of wit. To quote the exact words of the flippancy, "let us," he says, "just for fun" (the "fun" of course being meant to be "death to us"), "take a peep at ι, κ, λ, μ." In these books there are 14 augmented aorists starting the verse, and no fewer than 10 are followed by δέ. The degeneration from *Iliad*, with only 160 out of 300, is obvious! But again a relevant consideration, which he is aware of, for I pointed it out to him before, is passed over *sub silentio*. These 10 instances are reducible to three types, ἐκλύσθη δέ (twice), ἔστηψ(αν) δέ (4 times in 200 lines of κ), and ἔγνω(σαν) δέ (3 times in λ and once in κ). Homer has occasion—due to his subject; a consideration which Mr. Drewitt studiously ignores—to use three formulae frequently, and *more suo* does so. The proper way of presenting the figures is, 7

instances, 3 of them with δέ. When Mr. Drewitt makes a fresh comparison bearing this point in mind, it will be time to answer him. He should be more careful how he invites peeps, even "for fun," and beware how he audaciously charges Homer with being "so thoughtless in distributing his examples." It is not Homer who nods, but his critic who misrepresents him.

And so on. Is it necessary to go farther and to waste more time? Certainly not. I exposed the futility of Mr. Drewitt's statistics and of his deductions from them in my first paper, and here they are again more futile than ever. And his method is unchanged. He still assumes "shifts," still "clings despairingly" to the similes and the *viv* cases, still declines to see the vital distinction which I pointed out to him between the two kinds of "speech." He ends by suggesting that Unitarians should ignore statistics. He would be well advised himself to give them up. He generally fails to see their real significance.

A. SHEWAN

ST. ANDREWS
November 30, 1913

NOTE ON ARISTOTLE'S *DE ANIMA* 403a 23

Ἐτι δὲ τοῦτο μᾶλλον φανερόν· μηθενὸς γὰρ φοβεροῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι γίνονται τοῖς τοῦ φοβουμένου.

After ἐτι δέ the preposition δὰ has probably fallen out by haplography. Hicks lxxvii gives many examples of the tendency of E to omit small words, and δὰ would be hardly distinguishable from δέ. Its reinstatement here restores, I think, a much-vexed passage, which Torstrik's *τούτου μᾶλλον* and Christ's *τούτῳ μᾶλλον* do not cure, though the latter points the way.

Aristotle has given one proof of the interdependence of mind and body. He introduces a still stronger confirmation with the words: ἐτι δὲ <δὰ> τοῦτο μᾶλλον φανερόν. Cf. Themistius, *περὶ ὄντος*, p. 257, 5, Spengel, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἐτῶνδε δῆλον. φ γάρ, etc. The forward reference of *τοῦτο* of course presents no difficulty. Cf. *Gen. An.* 747b 28, λέγω δὲ λογικὴν δὰ τοῦτο ὅτι, etc. The γάρ of the clause *μηθενὸς γὰρ φοβεροῦ* is explicative of δὰ τοῦτο. It is the analogue in an argument of the so-called narrative γάρ. The editions seem to me for the most part to blink the difficulty. Hicks, retaining the vulgate, apparently translates as if he had my text: "Still more is this evident from the fact that," etc.

PAUL SHOREY

THE BACKGROUND OF THE *LEX MANILIA*

Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia* frankly says that the Roman *equites*, the middle-class nobility of wealth, were deeply interested in placing Pompey in command of the war against Mithridates. This interest, Cicero implies, was

wholly due to a desire for peace, in order that legitimate business investments in Asia might be safe. Now since Pompey, when appointed, proved to be an expansionist and since he furthered the interests of the *equites* in his organization of the new provinces which he created, the inference has been drawn that the *equites* probably knew beforehand that Pompey would favor them. Perhaps it is worth while to point out that we need not rely solely upon inferences; and that at least two acts of Pompey before 66, when rightly interpreted, completely reveal the program he was ready to pursue, namely, his restoration of the censorship in 70, and his seizure of a part of Syria in 67.

We know that Sulla put an end to the publican extortions in Asia by substituting the Attalid system of tax-gathering for the Gracchan *censoria locatio* in 84 (Cic. *Ad Quint. Fr.* i. 1. 33). We know also that when Cicero published his third Verrine (70-69) the Gracchan system had been restored to the advantage of the *equites* (*Verr.* iii. 12). Marquardt infers that this restoration was made soon after Sulla's death (*Staatsverw.*, II, 338), but I think we can definitely credit it to the consulship of Pompey in the year 70. Cicero happens to mention that the *locatio* in Sicily for the year 75 was made by consuls and not by censors (*consules . . . vendituros*, *Verr.* iii. 18). When we consider that the senate was in control of Roman politics between 80 and 70, that during this period it kept the knights in subjection, and that from 74 to 70, Lucullus, the enemy of the knights, managed the Asiatic finances according to his own ideas, we can hardly refer the change to any year before 70. In that year, however, Pompey—who had been elected to the consulship by the plutocratic-democratic *bloc*—gave back judiciary rights to the *equites*. He also restored the censorship to its former functions (Cic. *In Caec.* 8; Livy *Epit.* 98). Since the consuls had the *locatio* in 75 and the censors have it restored to them in 70-69 (*Verr.* iii. 12 and 18) the change must be due to the same law which gave back the other functions to the censors. In other words, with the restoration of the censorship in 70 went the Gracchan system of tax-farming in Asia and the privileges to the *equites* which that system involved. All this explains the peculiar remark which Cicero made while the bill was pending in 70: "the censorship, formerly an unpopular institution, is now included in the *popular* program because of the universal displeasure with the senatorial courts" (*In Caec.* 8). In short, it was the *equites* who had desired the censorship (as they desired judiciary rights) because it would restore them the privilege of exploiting Asia. And it was Pompey who gave it to them in 70.

The second act to which I referred proved Pompey a radical expansionist as early as the year 67. It will be remembered that Tigranes of Armenia had seized Syria in 63, taking it from Antiochus, a "friend" of Rome; and that Sulla, then very busy at home, had made no effort to recover it for Antiochus. Fourteen years later, Lucullus, while in pursuit of Mithridates in Armenia, met Tigranes in battle, defeated him, and compelled him to

restore Syria to Antiochus. Many Romans felt that Lucullus was needlessly generous to Antiochus in this matter, since that monarch had long ago forfeited his claims to his kingdom, and since Rome might justly claim Syria by right of conquest. However, Lucullus was a consistent senatorial and had little liking for expansion. The next year Pompey came east in pursuit of the Aegean pirates. He immediately showed what he thought of Lucullus' cession of Syria by bluntly seizing part of it, the eastern Cilician plain, and planting four colonies of captured pirates upon it.¹ Nothing could have demonstrated to the knights more clearly than this that Pompey accepted the principle—which Lucullus did not—that conquest established ownership. According to such a principle Rome had a right not only to Syria but also to Pontus, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and much else.

We may conclude, therefore, even without assuming any secret understanding between Pompey and his supporters at home, that the *equites* knew that Pompey was acting upon a principle which would greatly increase the empire, and, moreover, that he was ready to extend the tax-farming system—so profitable to them—as far as his conquests went. We know, of course, that he did not disappoint his hungry friends. He extended the eastern territory till the Roman revenue from that source was four times what it had been before, and he abandoned it all to the tender mercies of the publicans: to be sure, he placed some checks upon the system which Gracchus had not, but these checks, after all, could be readily avoided. He introduced the system even into the province of Cilicia² which was wholly outside of the field of war.

TENNEY FRANK

BRYN MAWR

NOTE ON JUVENAL x. 188-89

"da spatium uitae, multos da, Juppiter, annos"
hoc recto uultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.

The burden of the prayer in this passage can be comprehended by even the most skeptical, but the sketch of the petitioner, through the very breadth and boldness of its lines, fails to convey a uniformly clear-cut conception of his appearance and attitude. The interpretations of the second line that have been offered would vie in number and variety with those of the bewildering productions of the cubist and futurist schools of art. The range of these interpretations has been searchingly surveyed by my lamented friend and

¹ Historians have apparently failed to notice the significance of this act. The "Cilician plain" did not yet belong to Rome. It had been a part of Syria ever since the treaty of 188 (Polyb. xxi. 45, Appian *Syr.* 48, *Mith.* 118). Two years after Pompey took forcible possession of it, he accepted it by formal cession together with the rest of Syria from Tigranes; see Livy *Epit.* 101.

² The tax-system in vogue in Cilicia during Cicero's proconsulship (51 b.c.) bears all the characteristics of Pompey's combination of Attalid and Gracchan ideas. See Cie. *Ad Att.* v. 13. 1 and 16. 2.

master, Professor Harry Langford Wilson, both in his edition of Juvenal and in the course of an article on "The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal" (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, XXXI [1900], 217-19). Professor Wilson seemed to reach in these treatises a wholly satisfactory conclusion (see ed., *ad loc.*; *Trans.*, p. 217), yet a few weeks prior to his death he intimated to the writer his belief that finality had not yet been attained in the matter. The purpose of this note is to bring students of Juvenal to view the portrayal of the suppliant from another angle, a point of view which will, we believe, give to it sharp definition and broad significance.

According to Professor Wilson's survey, the editors and other commentators stand substantially thus: Blümner, Lewis, Weidner, Ruperti (cf. Grangaeus on *recta facie* in *Juv.* vi. 401) read a contrast between health and sickness or between happiness and sadness, while Duff sees a contrast between youth and age; Mayor and Wilson (similarly Despois, *Traduction nouvelle de Juv. et Perse*, Paris [1908]) are in practical agreement in interpreting the line, ". . . for this and this alone with upraised face and pallid cheek you pray" (Wilson's translation, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, XXXI [1900], 218-19), an interpretation that brands the contrast so clear to others as "purely imaginary." Allcroft and Burnet (*Juv. Sat.*, viii, x, xiii, London, undated) explain *recto* as "'unchanging,' i.e., shameless." Wilson is the only scholar who has proved (as others had suspected before him) that Juvenal in this passage employs *rectus* in the sense of *erectus*.

Now the evident fact that the question of the reality or the unreality of the contrast divides the interpretations into two distinct classes must not mislead one into thinking that the crux of the problem lies here. The real problem is one of diagnosis. Are we to consider *recto uultu* and *pallidus* as symptomatic of particular and temporary conditions of body and mind? Or, on the other hand, are we to consider them as symptomatic of general conditions so broad in their scope as to include the sundry particular conditions suggested above? To be specific: Is *pallidus* indicative of sorrow or anxiety or old age and the like, severally, or of all these ills and disabilities conjointly? A question of the same order may be asked in regard to *rectus*. Consultation of any good lexicon will give us satisfactory answers, and so numerous and accessible are the references to *pallidus* and *rectus* as they appear in the authors that we can here dispense with quoting them.

The meaning of *rectus* common to all its uses is "normal." This applies (see lexicon, s.v.) to the several geometrical dimensions (and, inferentially, to motion, time, and vision), to established fact (which is, of course, the measure of correctness of the narrative describing it), to thought and conduct in relation to accepted codes and conventions in the spheres of religion, aesthetics, ethics, politics, justice, and social propriety, to grammar, to practical efficiency in any line of activity, and, finally, to conditions of mind and body. *Rectus uultus* would then suggest to us the countenance of one of those who, living amid normal conditions, keep "the noiseless tenor of

their way," who enjoy normal confidence in the present and normal hope for the future, normal "pride of life," normal health and mental balance. That the advantages here detailed may be viewed at one moment as causes and at another as effects is no valid objection to the interpretation. It suffices to have demonstrated that *rectus uultus*, by means of a well-known figure of speech, conveys to our mind the idea of normality of life in general. Does not Cicero say, "Imago animi uultus est"? Under this interpretation, therefore, we can include all the particularizing interpretations we have previously reviewed. Now of special import at this juncture is the fact established by Professor Wilson that *rectus* in this passage stands for *erectus*, "with head erect," 'with head thrown back,' an attitude which expresses perfect self-confidence" (Wilson, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, XXXI [1900], 218). Consequently, *rectus* here comprehends at once the broadly inclusive generic meaning of simple *rectus* and the much more limited and particular meaning of *erectus*, and is thereby extraordinarily enriched with the power of poetic suggestion.

On the other hand, *pallidus* and its cognates *pallor*, *palleo*, *pallesco*, indicate in common "the loss of natural color." In poetry and often in prose these words while pointing to the external and visible physical effect are at the same time meant to imply the hidden and unseen cause or causes producing the effect. This is a variety of metonymy much richer than the ordinary for the reason that the causes are exceedingly varied and not sharply discriminated from one another. The chief causes, as brought out by the Latin authors, are fear, anger, grief, intense desire (including love, ambition, acquisition of wealth), excessive toil, hunger, thirst, disease, squalor, old age, and death. The significant fact in this enumeration is that all these conditions alike are not merely *abnormal*, but distinctly *subnormal*. The basic idea, then, of these four related Latin words is that of "subnormality."¹ Beside this we must place the idea of "normality" common to all uses of *rectus*. Here, then, we have an inevitable and natural contrast, a situation that is in its main outlines duplicated in Ovid *Ibis* 559-60:

Sollicitoque bibas, Anyti doctissimus olim
Inperturbato quod babit ore reus.

—a situation that embraces the minor contrasts noted by divers editors as well as many others that have eluded mention.

Frankly acknowledging the impossibility of conveying from one language to another a passage so prolific in poetical suggestion, we tentatively offer the following as a translation of the lines in question: "'Grant long life, O Jupiter, grant length of days.' This is the prayer thou dost raise in moments when thy countenance is untroubled, aye, this alone thy prayer

¹ This elucidates the use of *palleo* in the moral sphere, as *mores pallentes* (Pers. v. 15) and *jama pallens* (Tac. *Or.* 13). Cf. the way in which William James uses the word "pallid" in English: "I shall add my own over-belief, which will be, I confess, of a somewhat pallid kind . . ." (*Varieties of Religious Experience* [1912], 504).

when thou art pale with anxious thought." Studied in this light the repellent picture of old age and its legion of disabilities sketched in lines 190-287 acquires a profounder meaning. This picture is no longer antithetical merely to the single prayer, but to this single prayer plus all of life with its complex of vicissitudes. It shows us the disappointing realities of old age bulked together in a black abhorrent mass over against the golden chain of expectations of the many years of youth and active manhood.

W. SHERWOOD FOX

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

NOTE ON PROPERTIUS ii. 24. 1-16.

Tu loqueris, cum sit iam noto fabula libro
 Et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta foro?
 Cui non his verbi aspergat tempora sudor?
 Aut pudor ingenuus aut reticendus amor.
 5 Quod si tam facilis spiraret Cynthia nobis,
 Non ego nequitiae dicerer esse caput,
 Nec sic per totam infamis traducerer urbem,
 Ureret et quamvis nomine verba darem.
 Qquare ne tibi sit mirum me quaerere viles:
 10 Parcius infamant; num tibi causa levis?
 Et modo pavonis caudae flabella superbæ
 Et manibus dura frigus habere pila
 Et cupit iratum talos me poscere eburnos,
 Quaeque nitent Sacra vilia dona Via.
 15 Ah peream, si me ista movent dispendia, si me
 Fallaci dominae iam pudet esse iocum.

1 sis deteriores. 2 sic L. 4 amor? N. 5 iam det. 8 urerer det.
 15 sed (et ni) me det.¹

A redistribution of parts between the speakers in Propertius ii. 24. 1-16 would remove several difficulties which are involved in each of the current punctuations. If the interlocutor's words end with either vs. 2 or vs. 4, as they do on those punctuations, (1) the reference of *tam* (vs. 5) is equivocal. Lachmann, Paley, and Phillimore interpret, "so gracious as you [the interlocutor] think"; Belling (*W. kl. Ph.*, XII [1895], 1173), similarly, "so gracious as people think"; Rothstein, "so gnädig dass ich nicht nötig gehabt hätte ein *nequitiae caput* zu werden"; Butler, "if Cynthia smiled on me as once she smiled"; Enk (*Ad Properti Carmina Commentarius Criticus*, 148), "tam facilis quam viles meretrices esse solent."

(2) As Plessis points out (*Études sur Properce*, 137), vss. 5-8 are lame: "If Cynthia were so gracious to me, I should not be called the crown of

¹ These critical notes are adapted from the fuller ones in Hosius, Teubner edition, 1911. The text agrees with that of Hosius except in vss. 8 and 15, where it follows the superior MSS, NFLDV, while Hosius adopts the conjectures *urerer* and *sed* of the *deteriores*.

wantonness, nor be thus disgracefully talked of through the whole city; and though I were inflamed with love [*urerer*] [for *viles puellae*], I should deceive the public"—“for the sake of my reputation” (Rothstein) or “by using an assumed name.” Enk thinks that the awkwardness disappears if *nequitiae caput* and *infamis traducerer* receive a different interpretation from the accepted one. According to all the editors it is Propertius’ avowal, at the end of the preceding poem, of the intention to desert Cynthia for *viles puellae* which occasions the notoriety referred to. Enk holds that the cause of the notoriety is the amour with Cynthia. He interprets:

Postquam poeta . . . se viles quae situr esse confessus est, amicum inducit se sic interpellantem: “Quid dicas? te viles querere? Quasi ignoremus Cynthia quo modo tecum sit. Omnes tuum librum legimus.” Ad haec verba subirascitur Propertius: “quis non erubescat, inquit, talia audiens? Profecto hoc vere dicunt: aut de pudore tacendum est ingenuo [cum Paleyo lego: aut pudor ingenui, aut reticendus amor], i.e., aut pudor abiciendus, aut amor tuus ne divulgetur caveas! Sed haec non mea culpa est: Si Cynthia mihi tam facilis eset quam viles meretrices esse solent, non in malam famam venissem; . . . nam quamvis illa me ureret amore nomine ficto Cynthiae omnes deciperem.”

To my mind, the passage is still extremely awkward. It would be unintelligible without Enk’s comment: “‘Non in malam famam venissem.’ Nam hanc ipsam ob causam omnes in se oculos defixos habere putat, quod Cynthia sibi non morem gesserit. Viles puellae enim amantem sine more recipiunt [ii. 23. 17], itaque minus eius famae nocent; nesciunt homines quid agat; tota eius vita domi, non foris agitur. . . .” It seems to me, then, that Enk’s interpretation reads too much into the text. In addition, it introduces a difficulty of which Enk himself speaks as follows: “quodsi Bellingius me roget, quare poeta ediderit librum quo edito sciebat se infamem futurum esse, respondeam, etiamsi librum non edidisset, neminem ignoraturum fuisse . . . quam multa fecisset ingenuo indigna; Cynthia enim poetam saepius fallente, saepius excludente tota poetae vita foris ante hominum oculos agebatur.” The publication of the “Monobiblos” is a mere drop in the bucket!

In all interpretations except that of Enk, two additional difficulties are involved. (3) *Ureret* (vs. 8), the reading of the superior MSS, is impossible. If it meant “drove me to distraction,” it would be inconsistent with *tam facilis* (vs. 4). If it meant “inflamed me with love,” vs. 8 would be meaningless. Hence every scholar except Enk adopts *urerer* of the inferior MSS, or else has recourse to emendation. (4) As Plessis has shown (p. 138), vs. 10 is inconsistent with vs. 7. In vs. 7 Propertius implies that he has incurred disgrace by renouncing Cynthia for *viles puellae*; but in vs. 10 he says that “leur commerce est moins déshonorant que celui de Cynthia.”

All these difficulties are obviated if one assigns to the interlocutor vss. 1–8. The clue to this punctuation is given by the (hitherto unnoticed) emphatic position of *nobis* (vs. 5) (cf., e.g., ii. 24. 9; iii. 7. 31; iii. 10. 17;

iv. 11. 60). On this interpretation, (1) the reference of *tam* (vs. 5) is unequivocal: "If Cynthia breathed so graciously on *me*" must mean, "so graciously as she breathes on you." (2) Vss. 5-8 yield a satisfactory sense: "If Cynthia breathed so favorably on *me*, I should not let myself be called the crown of wantonness nor be so disgracefully talked of throughout the city; and though she drove me to distraction, I should fool the public for the sake of my name." (3) *Ureret* (vs. 8) of the superior MSS is retained. (For the meaning, cf. Tibullus iv. 13. 19.) It is not inconsistent with *tam facilis* (vs. 5): Propertius enjoys Cynthia's favors, but rarely. Cf. ii. 23 (the poem referred to in *loqueris* [vs. 1] and in *his verbis* [vs. 3]), especially vs. 11. (4) The objection to the inconsistency between vss. 7 and 10 disappears; for they are spoken by different persons. Being taken to task for his avowal (in poem 23) of the intention to leave Cynthia and devote himself to *viles pueriae*, and for the notoriety incurred by that avowal, the poet retorts (vss. 9-10): "For that very reason you should not be surprised at my resorting to *viles pueriae*: they cause less notoriety."

Vs. 4 has occasioned much comment and various emendations (cf. Enk, 148). I take it to be an example of the $\delta\pi\circ\ kou\omega\circ$ construction. The idea of obligation expressed in *reticendus* is understood in *ingenuus* also: "One should either have the fidelity of a gentleman or keep one's love secret" (for a similar meaning of *pudor*, cf. ii. 9. 18). Plessis (p. 136) and Phillimore translate nearly as I do; but Plessis brackets the verse with the comment: "Le texte à cet endroit ne peut guère s'expliquer rigoureusement; je mets à la place ce qui me paraît demandé par la logique." The combination *pudor ingenuus* occurs, though with a different shade of meaning, in Pliny *N.H.* xxi, *Praef.*: "est enim . . . plenum ingenui pudoris fateri per quos praefeceris." For the metrical license in *ingenuus*, cf. i. 10. 23 (referred to by Rothstein).

Nomine (vs. 8) is difficult. Enk (p. 150) thinks it an advantage of his interpretation that in it the meaning "nomine ficto Cynthiae" makes good sense. To me this explanation of the word seems more forced than Rothstein's "for the sake of my reputation," which makes good sense in my interpretation. If one must emend, I should think *non ego* (*nō e*) more likely than *non mala* (Baehrens), *non bene* (Housman), or *uterer* (for *urerer*, Phillimore). The meaning would be, "I should not give her the slip" (cf. Petronius 78, and Forcellini, s.v. "verbum" 28). Another possibility is *non ita* (*it* might be mistaken for *n*, and *nō ita* become *nomina* and then be emended to *nomine*. In ii. 24. 38 *non ita* was corrupted to *navita*). If *non ita* is right, *verba darem* may contain a double meaning: "to give the slip" and "to talk" (with reference to *verbis* in vs. 3; cf. Belling in *W. kl. Ph.*, XII [1895], 1172; for the meaning, cf. Avianus *Fab.* ix. 20 [in Forcellini, s.v. "verbum" 27] and xxiv. 10).

In vs. 15, all the editors except Phillimore adopt *sed* of the inferior MSS. I would read *si*, with the superior MSS, and, herein differing from Phillip-

more, translate: "Hang me if I care about those expenditures—if I am any longer ashamed of being the sport of an elusive mistress." The abrupt change in tone is paralleled by that in Ovid *Amores* iii. 11, where the poet inveighs against his mistress through some thirty verses and then retracts in the twenty that remain. Brandt divides the poem into two, prompted by the same desire for unity which is responsible in the Propertius passage for the preference of *sed*.

Vss. 11 f. are by some editors ejected from this poem or separated from the preceding verses by the assumption of a lacuna. The reasons for this procedure are given by Enk (p. 150): (1) the present tense of *cupit* (vs. 13) is at variance with the situation. (2) The conjunction *et* (vs. 11) "laxo admodum vineculo novam causam priori adnectit." (3) *Modo* (vs. 11) has no correlative. However, (1) if we read *si* in 15, the present tense is quite natural; for the poet does not really regard his connection with Cynthia as at an end. In any case, *cupit* may be a historical present. (2-3) The uses of *et* and *modo* (vs. 11), even if they cannot be exactly paralleled, are not, it seems to me, so difficult as to warrant our suspecting the manuscript tradition. *Et* in vs. 12 and *et* in vs. 13 may take the place of correlatives to *modo*. (For the abrupt change in subject, from *viles* [vs. 10] to *Cynthia* understood [vss. 11 f.], a change to which the awkwardness of the passage is largely due, cf., e.g., i. 8. 36; iii. 16. 23; iii. 21. 7.)

If verses 1-16 are, as the editors generally think, to be separated from the remainder of ii. 24, they will, on the interpretation here given, form a poem of two parts of eight verses each. For the harmonious structure compare, in the edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius by Ellis, Postgate, and Phillimore, Propertius ii. 12, which consists of six four-verse stanzas, and i. 5, which contains five six-verse stanzas and a distich.

A. F. BRÄUNLICH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EI-READINGS IN THE MSS OF PLAUTUS v. MATHEMATICS

In *TAPA*, XXXVII (1906), 73-86, A. R. Anderson examines the Plautine passages where there is manuscript warrant for the spelling *ei*, for classical *i* or *t*. For the time of Plautus this writing is correct only for a classical *i* which was an earlier diphthong; but that Plautus himself did make this distinction is shown by *Rud.* 1305 and *Truc.* 262; cf. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 75 f. These *ei*-readings occur both in the Ambrosian palimpsest and in the Palatine codices, not only for the diphthong, but also (incorrectly) for non-diphthongal *i*, and for *t*. Statistics are:

	Correct	Incorrect	Total
Ambrosian Palimpsest	182	60	242
Palatine Codices	98	25	123
Total <i>ei</i> -readings	280	85	365

Curiously, there is but one instance of agreement between A and P in the preservation of *ei*; this is *Pseud.* 349. Anderson therefore holds that "the *ei*-readings as a whole, far from going back to Plautus himself, do not even go back to the common archetype of our two families of MSS" (p. 85). He believes that practically all *ei*'s were normalized out of the text in the Ciceronian and Augustan ages, and that those which we now find were introduced by archaizing scholars of the age of the Antonines.

I take no exception to the division of the readings into correct and incorrect, though there are one or two words which I should shift (especially *mille*; cf. *TAPA.*, XLII, 74); the figures would not be materially altered by any such rearrangement. But Anderson lays too much stress upon the failure of A and P to agree in more than the single instance.

A covers about one-half of the text of Plautus, or approximately 10,500 lines. A count of a limited portion of three plays shows that *i* from an earlier *ei* occurs about 75 times per 100 lines; in 10,500 lines, there will be about 8,000 such occurrences. Thus A, with 182 correct *ei*-readings, shows one occurrence out of every 44 possible times. In the same portions of the text, by actual count from Anderson's citations, there are 48 correct *ei*-readings in P. Now if A has one correct *ei*-reading out of every possible 44, and P in the same part of the text has 48 such readings, the agreement of the two upon an *ei*-reading will, on the mathematical principle of choice and chance, be limited to one occurrence. And that is just what we have!

No argument may, therefore, be based upon the fact that A and P agree upon a correct *ei*-reading only once. It is quite possible that the *ei*-readings, where correct, go back to Plautus himself, though it is just as impossible to prove it. As for the incorrect *ei*-readings, 69 (49 in A, 20 in P) are for *i*, and may be survivals of the orthography of the century following 150 B.C., when *ei* was commonly written for *i* of any origin; 12 are for *ɛ*, where in the main it is easy to see how confusion might arise; 4 are paleographical errors.

Despite this dissent from Anderson's conclusions, let me quote what he says on the editing of the text (p. 85): "Were I an editor of Plautus, I should not admit the *ei* except in the one lone instance, *Truc.* 262, where *eiram* is punned with *eram* and the number of letters of the two words compared." With this I am in hearty agreement, for it is manifestly inconsistent to write *ei* in the 280 words where there is MS evidence for *ei*, and to write *i* in the other 15,000-odd words which were written with *ei* by Plautus, but no longer contain the diphthong in the MSS; and this the more so, because there are 85 incorrect *ei*-readings in the MSS, alongside the 280 correct *ei*'s.

ROLAND G. KENT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

NOTE ON TERENCE *ANDRIA* 971-72

In *Andria* 971-72, Charinus, unable to believe the good news of Pamphilus, exclaims: "num ille somniat ea quae vigilans voluit?" The idea seems trite, and might appear proverbial but for the fact that exact parallels are wanting. Plautus has the converse of this idea, *Miles Gl.* 393: "Satin eadem vigilanti expetunt quae in somnis visa memoras." A closer parallel is afforded by Vergil *Elegues* viii. 108: "credimus? an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt"; but, according to Donatus, Vergil was imitating the Terentian passage.

If this idea as Terence phrases it was not exactly common property, it is fair to look for a definite source, presumably in Menander. Such a source has apparently been overlooked in a fragment placed by Kock and Meineke among the "Αδηλα Δράματα of Menander (734 K.): ἀ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν τις ἐσπούδασε | ταῦτ' εἰδὲ νίκτωρ. The thought is identical, and the verbal similarity close. For the fact that Terence employed the interrogative form, compare Donatus on *Andria* 794-95: "paullum interesse censes, ex animo omnia ut fert natura, facias, an de industria." Donatus: "haec sententia a Terentio ἐρωτηματικῶς prolata est, quam Menander ἐπιδεικτικῶς posuit."

It is questionable whether this comparison will suffice to assign the fragment to a particular play of Menander, since that portion of the *Andria* in which the quotation occurs is of uncertain origin (Nencini, *De Terentio eiusque fontibus*, 43). Donatus tells us that Terence drew lines 959 f. from the *Eunuchus* of Menander; but, as has been noted, the passage in question is of so general a nature that it might have recurred in several plays of Menander. The same holds true of lines 971-72. Still, the fact that Terence shows two distinct reminiscences of Menander in this one scene is a strong argument against its independent authorship.¹ His model, if he had one, was probably the *Perinthia*, and both these sententiae may have been drawn from that play.

KEITH PRESTON

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

¹ Leo (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, I, 239, and n. 1) credits Terence with the independent authorship of the sub-plot and the scenes in which Charinus and Byrria appear. He admits, however, that these scenes and characters may have been drawn from an unknown Attic original. The evidence above, if valid, points to the latter possibility. Nor does there seem to be any good reason for excluding the *Perinthia* from consideration, as Leo does.

BOOK REVIEWS

English Literature and the Classics. Collected by G. S. GORDON.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Pp. 252. 6s.

These attractive lectures, though delivered at Oxford in the winter of 1911-12, are of the university extension or summer-school type and appeal to the educated public rather than to the philological specialist. Like most collections of this kind, the book does not quite redeem the promise of its ambitious title. Less than half of the contributors attempt any serious consecutive study of the influence of their author on modern literature. One of the best of the essays in this regard, as well as the longest, is the editor's paper on "Theophrastus and His Imitators." Mr. Gordon, after a sufficient account of the *Characters* of Theophrastus, shows how a similar literary form was developed in England, first out of the mediaeval rhetorical exercise known as the *descriptio*, and later under the influence of the Latin version and commentary of Casaubon. He then traces the history of "characters" and comedy humors in English literature down to the time when the work of LaBruyère prepared the way for that of Addison, who, not always successfully, fused the "character" and the essay. This plain substantial fare is spiced with some rather phantastical speculation on the dependence of this entire literary tradition on Aristotle's doctrine of the mean and the revolt of the renaissance and superman nature against this "burgess notion." The twentieth-century Englishman, inspired by Wilde and Shaw, is highly resolved that at any cost of rhetoric he will not be commonplace, rational, "burgess," or virtuous. "Pericles," says Mr. Gordon ironically, "had hit the perfect note, 'Beauty without expense,' and the moderate man cheered a compromise. But Beauty at any cost is the Renaissance ideal." Mr. Gordon thinks that "Alcibiades and his friends would have understood this." The superman not only scorns Mill and Jebb and Tennyson but must have his fling at Pericles, Sophocles, and Pindar.

Professor Phillimore gives, largely after Rohde, a sketch of the origins and extant remains of the Greek romances, emphasizing, as was to be expected, the rôle of Philostratus. He refers in a postscript to Dr. Wolff's learned volume which "displays how much that thesis-writers will not willingly let die in English literature was derived from the Greek novelists." With all the superiorities which it derives from a more thorough secondary training and with all its brilliant virtuosity English scholarship would nevertheless be the better for a little more of this despised German-American thesis-writing.

Mr. A. C. Clark's "Ciceronianism" is in the main a readable résumé of Zielinski's *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, twice reviewed in this Journal.

Professor Stewart renovates the well-worn theme of Platonism in English poetry by practically ignoring Spenser, the "Intimations of Immortality," and "Epipsychedion," and taking Wordsworth's "Prelude" as the only true gospel. His eloquent study is based on his personal definition of "personal Platonism" and therefore owes no account of itself to a purely historical and matter-of-fact criticism.

"The only Latin poet who can be supposed to have influenced the spirit of mediaeval literature is Ovid," wrote Lowell long ago. Mr. S. G. Owen, like Lowell whom he does not quote, celebrates the quality in Ovid which he calls imagination, and which Wordsworth and Coleridge would perhaps rather have designated as fancy. Mr. Owen is apparently not acquainted with Professor Rand's paper on Ovid in the Harvard volume, and Professor Schevill's recent study of Ovid and the Spanish Renaissance in the *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* came, of course, too late for his use. He gives us mainly a somewhat detailed account of the debt to Ovid of Chaucer, Gower, and (after Sidney Lee and Max Dürnhöfer) of Shakespeare.

Mr. Garrod, conscious of his Matthew Arnold, writes beautifully about the wistful pathos with which the conflict of the Celt and the Roman in Virgil invests the self-contradictions of that glorious failure, the *Aeneid*. I do not know whether this is true. But the spell of Virgil is real, and Mr. Garrod helps us to feel it. Mr. R. J. E. Tiddy writes on "Satura and Satire" from the standpoint of the discriminating literary critic, not from that of the conjectural philologist. He ignores altogether the recent American and German literature of the subject and takes for granted the distinction between the old *per saturam* medley of Ennius and Varro and the sharp denunciatory tongue-lashing manner which Lucilius took over from the old Greek comedy. He is mainly interested, however, in tracing through English literature the contrast between the two types of ethical and castigatory satire, and exhibiting the debt of both to the great Latin satirists, and the community of spirit between the older English ethical satire and the early literature of Rome.

Mr. Godley's essay is mainly an excellent characterization of the rhetoric, epigram, stichomythia, point-making, and pedantic erudition of Senecan tragedy. In the two or three pages devoted to the history of its influence he does not mention the considerable modern literature of the subject. His concluding statement that the Senecan style influenced French tragedy more than English needs more qualification than he gives to it. "Rhetorical purple patches," he says, "and rhetorical rotundity of phrasing appeal to France as they never could to England." No educated Frenchman would concede this. French tragedy imitated the structure of Senecan tragedy and the rhetorical evolution of the long speeches. The English drama took the purple patches and sometimes transmuted them into brave translunary things.

The recent fashion of romantic and sentimental anthropology seems to have made a complete conquest of Professor Murray, and while the mood is on him he can see in Greek literature nothing but origins and survivals. In his epoptic moments he views the art of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in an apocalyptic vision or prehistoric "Walpurgisnacht Traum" of "Dromena," "Vegetation-Heroes," "Sexual taboos," "Daimones of divers sorts," "thirsty tribesmen," and communal dancers with "rhythmic yearning of the whole body towards the emotion that we cannot define."

Professor Murray, of course, can reverse the spell at pleasure and quote the *vāphē kai μέμναο' ἀπιστεῖν* which ought to be, but too rarely is, the philologist's motto. But what of his audiences and his disciples, the "members of the English school"? When Clytemnestra calls Iphigenia *ἔμον . . . ἐπος* will they think it "worth remembering too that primitive men draw no very clear line of demarkation between themselves and . . . vegetables"? Will they carry away the impression that it was the audiences of Sophocles that knew what it was to "wait wondering, full of the sense of horrible and unpardonable sin, despairing or performing ghastly rites, waiting till famine finished them off"? Will they innocently believe that unconverted Greek texts bear out the statement that in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* the chorus of the Danaids "imitate the way" the "divine cow, their ancestress," "croped flowers in a meadow," that Sophocles makes Electra "behave like a wild beast and be disgusted with herself for so doing," and that the first chorus of the *Oedipus Rex* "represents a magic dance, full of hoots and shouts for driving away pestilence"? Can they afford to purchase thrills at the price of a logic which finds the suppliant motif in what is probably a skeptical Euripidean gibe? Is the new art of interpretation to proceed wholly by emotional and not at all by intellectually relevant association of ideas? "Tragedy," writes Professor Murray, "is full of the religion of the Suppliant, the man or woman who is stricken down by the world and has no help left but prayer." Prayer to whom, we ask, to Theseus or Demophoon? How closely for an Athenian consciousness was the motif of the patriotic plays that bear the title *Suppliants* associated with "the suffering and dying God"? "Tragedy," Professor Murray adds, "is haunted by this atmosphere, *for* [italics mine] to cry bitterly that the sun will *not* turn back in heaven

For the wrongs of man, the cry
Of his ailing tribes assembled,
To do justice ere they die,

is, as far as atmosphere goes, much the same thing as to assert that he will."

It would be pedantry to scrutinize minutely the compensatory licenses of a beautiful poetic translation intended for the general reader. But when Professor Murray argues as a scholar from the words of his own rendering, it becomes pertinent to point out that there are no ailing tribes assembled in the Euripidean text, there is no question of doing justice ere they die, there

is no hint of the despairing suppliant motif, and the passage as a whole is rather an anticipation of Epicurus or Voltaire than either a survival of primitive religious feeling or a Tennysonian wail for vanished faith.

But it all makes delightful reading and Professor Murray probably knows more about the compromises of his philological conscience with his poetical sentiment than any reviewer can tell him.

PAUL SHOREY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Demosthenes' On the Crown. Edited with Introduction and Notes by
MILTON W. HUMPHREYS. New York: American Book Co.,
1913.

I have gone through the whole oration consecutively, following the notes as I read, comparing constantly with Goodwin's *editio minor*. The general result has been increased respect for both editions and both editors. We have in either case an excellent edition and a safe guide for the student's understanding and appreciation of Demosthenes' great masterpiece. Dr. Humphreys' notes are generally in substantial agreement with the interpretation of the earlier edition, but this only shows that Professor Goodwin is generally correct in his views. Humphreys' notes are independent, and there is no trace of borrowing. On the whole his notes are fuller than Goodwin's, as shown by the fact that his text and exegetical notes cover 259 pages, Goodwin's 199 pages, of about the same size. Humphreys quotes more illustrative examples, and in connection with this it is well to bear in mind what he says in his preface: "The examples, even those that are found in other editions, were for the most part collected by the editor." The collection grew with the study of many years, as may be inferred from another remark in the preface, that he "has annually taught Demosthenes' *On the Crown* for more than a third of a century."

As a specimen of one of Humphreys' fuller notes, we may take § 19, κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. Goodwin renders, "he was growing above all their heads, i.e., so as to threaten them all." Humphreys (critical note) says: "All the interpretations ascribe to φύειν a meaning which it does not have. When a thing grows, it must of course get larger, but φύεσθαι, grow, does not mean become larger (*αἰξάνεσθαι*), but to grow as a plant, for instance, sprouts or grows. The MSS show no variations, and emendation is excluded. Could the expression mean πάντων (neut.) καθαπτόμενος προορεφύετο, πᾶσι προσεφύετο καθαπτόμενος, he was growing on to everything, i.e., he was getting his clutches into everything?" This is not convincing, and the London *Athenaeum* reviewer seems right in defending the ordinary interpretation.

In § 24: τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἄν, Goodwin simply translates: "With what possible object [καὶ] would you have been sending?" Humphreys' note is: "τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι, 'With what conceivable pur-

pose?" Cf. Aesch. ii. 66: *τί δ' ἀν καὶ βουλόμενος . . . κατηγόρουν μὲν . . . μίαν δὲ νύκτα διαλιπὼν συνηγόρουν;* Andoc. i. 4: *τί γὰρ ἀν καὶ βουλόμενος ἀγώνα τοσοῦτον ὑπομείνειν.* This very frequent case of *καὶ*, emphasizing the predication and not the substantive idea of a verb, is best reproduced in English, when the verb is finite, by a stress on the auxiliary, as § 19. 138: *τί καὶ ποιήσῃ,* "What is he to do?" 43, 52: *τίνι καὶ δῶσαιν,* "To whom does it [the law] give [the property]?" The usage is often overlooked or misunderstood, and is not, as some suppose, confined to questions. Cf. 15, 27: *εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ λέγει τις κτέ.* "But and if she depart" (I Cor. 7:11) means "but if she does depart," *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ.*

In § 89: *καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὡν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοῖεν ὥρην ὡν αὐτὸν προΐρηνται,* Goodwin says: "This reading of Σ gives an entirely different sense from that of the common text, *καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιεν . . . μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν.*" After translating, he says: "μὴ μεταδοῖεν cannot be a mere continuation of the wish of *μετάσχοιεν*: the asyndeton would be too harsh. It must be a final clause, assimilated to the optative *μετάσχοιεν* (MT. 182), as in *Ἄθοι . . . ὅπως γένοιτο λυτήρος* (Aesch. *Eum.* 297-98) and *γένοιτο . . . ἵν' οἱ Μυκῆναι γνοῖεν* (*Soph. Phil.* 324; see MT. 181). I know no other such final optative in prose; but I know no other final clause (of any kind) depending on a wishing optative in prose, which is hardly strange." Humphreys' explanation is radically different: "μὴ μεταδοῖεν κτέ: when to a clause is added the negative of its opposite, usually no conjunction is employed. Cf. 188: *τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν . . . μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν.* 192 *τὴν προαιρέσιν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει* Of course ἀλλὰ μὴ or καὶ μὴ (but not μηδέ) could be used. Cf. 85: *καὶ οὐ.*" And in the critical note, he says, further: "L has a conflation: *μετάσχοιεν . . . μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν*, which gives the correct sense, but employs μηδέ where good Attic prose requires καὶ μὴ if a conjunction is used at all."

Humphreys' most important critical note is perhaps that on *ἐνεπίμπρασαν* in § 169. As to the second of the possible explanations, namely, "The wickerwork of the booths was burned as a signal to the country demes" (so both Goodwin and Westermann-Rosenberg), he says:

This is the usual explanation; but it is little better than the other. (a) The conciseness of the expression shows that the orator refers to something well known and habitual. (b) The *δεῖπνον* which they left unfinished was taken long before dark, and the narrative implies great haste if anything so extraordinary is meant. (c) It is incredible that the men to whom all looked for guidance should destroy private property and set an example of mad panic; and yet the very fact that they were high in authority has been cited as accounting for the vandalism. (d) The *ἄγορά*, wherever situated, was certainly not on an eminence, and a fire there would have been meaningless to the people in the country if they had happened to notice the illuminated atmosphere. (e) The words totally exclude the assumption that the *γέρρα* were sent away to be burned after dark. The

Athenians were no doubt very much excited, but we must not believe that the Prytanes of Athens, on hearing that Philip had assumed a hostile attitude, completely lost their wits. . . .

It was Paul Girard who finally offered the most probable solution of the problem in *Revue de philologie*, XI, 25-32. In Ar. *Acharn.* Dicaeopolis is in the empty Pnyx impatiently waiting for the people on one of the regular days for the assembly. He says (vss. 21 f.): *οι δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι, κάνω καὶ κάτω | τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμλημένον,* "and the people in the market-place keep on gossiping and run hither and thither shunning the reddened cord," on which the Scholiast says: *Τπέρ τοῦ ἔξ ανάγκης ἀβρῶς εἰς τὰς ἑκκλησίας συνέραι τοῦτο ἐμπχανῶντο καὶ πολλὰ δῆλα . ἀνεπεράννυσαν γάρ τὰ γέρρα καὶ ἀπέλειν τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μὴ φερούσας εἰς τὴν ἑκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ὄντας ἀνήρουν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς θηταὶ μὴ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβουσεν.* Then is described how two policemen (*ὑπηρεταί*), stretching a freshly stained cord, swept the people to the assembly (Plato *Comicus* being cited as authority), and it is added that any one found with garments stained by the cord was fined. Just how all this was done does not matter, nor does it matter whether the word of the Schol. *ἀνεπεράννυσαν* is the exact word used by Demosthenes; but it is almost certain that it was *ἀνεπεράννυον* or *ἀνεπεράννετον*, more likely the former. But as the earliest MS authority (Rylands Papyrus, No. 57, about 200 A.D.) has *ἀνεπιμπρασαν*, this has been retained in the text.

Humphreys' text agrees in most points with that of Goodwin, and he states that in constituting it he has had Goodwin and Westermann-Rosenberg constantly at hand. It is a comfort in reading the oration to feel that, whichever of the three editors we may be following, we are sure in nearly every case of the meaning the orator intended to convey. "The only critical apparatus consulted," Humphreys states, "was that of Goodwin's larger edition, and consequently all citations of MSS-readings are at second hand."

A valuable and interesting "Introduction," of eighteen pages, treats first of "Demosthenes as an orator," under such subheadings as "Training," "Style," "Eloquence"; then comes "History of the Suit"; and finally, "Demosthenes and Aeschines." There are three appendixes: I, on manuscripts, adapted from Goodwin; II, critical notes condensed into fourteen pages; III, historical sketch of twenty pages. Both text and notes are unusually free from misprints.

Professor Humphreys had the student especially in mind in preparing his commentary, and he has done an excellent piece of work. Indeed the student is to be congratulated whether he use Goodwin or Humphreys as a guide in reading the *De corona*. And scholars must be grateful to publishers who in these days of neglect of Greek furnish us with such admirable work as these editions of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* by Professor Goodwin (Macmillan) and Professor Humphreys (American Book Co.).

CHARLES FORSTER SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Zur Biographie Martials. Von DR. EUGEN LIEBEN. Separab-drücke aus dem *Jahresberichte des Staatsgymnasiums in Prag-Altstadt*, 1910-11, 1911-12. I, 28 pp.; II, 16 pp.

In iii. 95. 5-6 Martial says: "Praemia laudato tribuit mihi Caesar uterque Natorumque dedit iura paterna trium." With this as his chief inspiration, Dr. Lieben has arrived at important conclusions. The keenness and ingenuity that he often displays would fit him to be a successful writer of fiction, but whether he has written that or truth, even Martial himself might in some cases be at a loss to decide. He holds that the epigrammatist, thanks perhaps to Quintilian, had won the favor of Titus, whose own taste for poetry then prompted him to commend Martial to Vespasian. Thereupon, the poet presented the emperor with several small collections of his verse, and was rewarded with the *ius trium liberorum*. The *Caesar uterque* is, therefore, a dark reference to Titus and Vespasian, as is also the *Caesaribus* of i. 101. 2. Titus and Domitian cannot be the two; for Domitian hated his brother too much to allow him the poet's praise. Besides, Martial had no close relations with Domitian before his reign began, nor did he dedicate any earlier book to him than the fifth. Poems ii. 91 and 92, in which he begs for that fictitious fatherhood of three children and then, acknowledging the gift, dismisses his actual or potential wife as no longer a necessity, must likewise have been intended for Vespasian. Since, moreover, in a much later book, the ninth of 94 A.D., there is another reference to this grant, i.e., in 97. 5-6, we are to infer that this poem was composed in 86-87 and was inserted here merely to bring the book to a proper degree of copulence. (The reviewer would submit that ix actually contains more epigrams than any of nine others, and next to the largest number of lines of any book at all.) Its eighth verse informs us that at the time Martial wrote it he possessed a home of his own in the city. Accordingly, that ownership also reverts to 86-87, and the poet was obviously not so poor at that period of his career as previous biographers have made him. These are the main contentions of the first pamphlet. In the second in response to criticism the writer reiterates his arguments in only slightly emended form.

Now, once the biographer is granted freedom to cull from a book epigrams that confound his chronology and redate them with no other compelling cause at a much earlier period, he can impose almost any conclusions. Allow him further the *argumentum ex silentio*—perhaps the most hazardous available to man as a reasoning animal—and he may well be grateful. These are privileges that Dr. Lieben uses, although reluctant enough to grant them to another. (Cf. Teil II, 4 bottom.) For instance, he reckons Martial's omission of any mention of his equestrian rank in ix. 97, where he is enumerating his points of superiority over an envious *quidam*, as proof that he did not then enjoy it, and that the poem therefore antedates iii. 95. Unfortunately, however, if ix. 97 is of 86-87, verse 8 compels Dr. Lieben to give Martial a

house of his own at that time, but in an epigram of perhaps the year 92, vii. 92, the poet says to unresponsive Baccara: "Pensio te coram petitur clareque palamque," an indication that five or more years later he was still trying to pay rent for lodgings. Dr. Lieben, however, at once assumes that the tenant in arrears, although he speaks in the first person, is not Martial but an imaginary character. (I fear that he has overlooked vi. 59; cf. xi. 74.) The poet, he maintains, never reached such indigence as is indicated in the poem. But can we really believe that he who calls the fenerator Sextus (ii. 44. 3-4) *veterem meum sodalem* never heard the *tristis vox* of a Secundus? There are, at any rate, passages enough in which our Irus of Roman literature does not blush to beg for clothing, and surely, if rents were so exorbitant, indebtedness for his would scarcely place Martial among the paupers whom he scorned any more than a similar tardiness does persons of considerable respectability today—aye even owners of automobiles. But, no matter how we may determine the *dramatis personae* of vii. 92, we must not take either this or any other epigram on "low finance," such as vii. 16, too seriously. The real fact seems to be that Martial's mental equipment forced him, as it does many college professors of today, to associate with persons far wealthier than he, and since he knew well the gentlemanly art of living beyond his means, he often felt what he imagined to be the sensations of indigence. Another poem, viii. 61, blocks the progress of the writer's argument. He reckons Friedländer unreasonable in expecting Martial to mention his city house here, if he really owned it at the time. There is nothing to suggest that the mules were bad—except as all mules are bad—and if that is really the point of the epigram (Teil I, 12), the reviewer would urge that Martial's city house also was *schlecht* enough both in size and in situation to permit its mention in the wish with which he curses Charinus. But after all any theory based on what Martial did or did not own at a particular period of his lengthy stay in Rome makes a weak appeal; for he might have shifted back and forth between tenancy and ownership several times without enlightening us.

Dr. Lieben's interpretation of *festinatis totiens . . . libelli* in ii. 91. 3 (Teil I, 22) leads him to make that another poem published under Domitian but referable to an earlier date. Isn't it notable, however, that both it and iii. 95 so nearly duplicate expressions that appear in what he admits (Teil I, 17) to be a poem to Domitian, iv. 27? It is at any rate rather unlikely that Martial should have had to hurry the completion at different times of at least three and perhaps more dedicatory *libelli* to Vespasian—all lost to us now! The *festinati totiens libelli* were really the irksome petitions with which an emperor was continually assailed. (Cf. viii. 31. 3-4; viii. 82. 1; xi. 1-5.) These Domitian hurried through to turn to the more joyous perusal of the poet's sprightly epigrams. i. 4 in conjunction with i. 5, which must not be ignored, is evidence enough that he had had at least one book dedicated to him.

Finally, can we believe that Martial's reference to Titus would have

offended Domitian? No doubt there was no love lost between the brothers, but if Domitian could enrol Titus among the gods, he could surely share with him a poet's little meed of earthly praise. Probably he did not take Martial so seriously as the modern philologist does. Thus he was supersensitive about his baldness, but our poet could poke limitless fun at those similarly afflicted with impunity. (Suet. *Dom.* 18). How does it help matters anyway to make *uterque* mean Titus and Vespasian, the latter being by no means a *rerum certa salus* and *terrarum gloria* (cf. this very language used of Domitian v. 1. 7-8) in Domitian's estimation? Moreover, Titus is still included, and if even in 94 A.D. everybody would at once interpret the *uterque* of him and his father, surely the expression was not so *rätselhaft* as to beguile a Domitian.

The reviewer has pointed out as fairly as a brief review permits what seem to him to be weaknesses in Dr. Lieben's long chain of argument, but only a perusal of the articles themselves will enable the student of Martial to judge how illuminating and interesting they are.

WALTON BROOKS McDANIEL

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

M. Manilius Astronomicon Liber Secundus. Recensuit et enarravit
A. E. HOUSMAN. London: Grant Richards, 1912. 4s. 6d. net.

The biographer of the late Walter Headlam says of him, "His appreciation of other people's humour, in life or books, was inexhaustible. Perhaps no modern writing of the kind gave him keener delight than Professor Housman's Introductions to Manilius and Juvenal. Often would he read or quote to his friends certain classical sentences therefrom, and confess, with streaming eyes, that he loved above all things to be made to laugh outright." Doubtless Mr. Headlam's withers were unwrung, and he could laugh with unembarrassed gaiety. But some others must have winced. Perhaps to those who have the pleasure of Mr. Housman's personal acquaintance the unrestrained causticity of his famous Introductions was merely the indulgence of a merry humor. They were indubitably lively reading, but to the uninitiated their pungency was too much like that of a Mexican tamale: it overwhelmed and disguised the flavor of the solid sense and wise learning which lay beneath.

The reader who expects to find in this edition of Book II of Manilius another prefatory dose of spluttering coruscations will be disappointed. The mood has spent itself, or the physician of intellects judged that a sufficient bolus had already been administered, or perhaps an added decade of years and academic preferment have wrought a pacifying influence. Still the Latin commentary is not without spice.

Certain things in the equipment of Mr. Housman's edition of Manilius I, published in 1903, might be taken to indicate that he had no intention of

proceeding farther with the formal editing of the text. Perhaps it was for this reason that Mr. Garrod selected as his specimen, published in 1911, the second book, though his Introductions might well have been prefixed to an edition of the first book, or of the whole work. Mr. Housman has now apparently thought better of his task, and parallels Mr. Garrod's work a year later by his own. Nor is the duplication of precise field to be deprecated. The text of Manilius is in an unusually difficult state, and even when two editors are no farther apart than Messrs. Housman and Garrod in their judgment of the individual MSS, their reconstitutions of its form are still likely to differ widely—as these indeed do—while for the elucidation of the subject-matter by more than even one or two learned commentators the ordinary student of Manilius may well be profoundly grateful.

Mr. Housman's Introduction to Book II is exceedingly valuable and helpful, being a running "exposition [in English] of its astrological contents, together with most of the parallels to be adduced from other astrologers." This is much more effective than the parallel translation employed by Mr. Garrod. The full commentary is arranged conveniently under the text, as in the edition of Book I, and, also as in the earlier volume, is in Latin—probably because Mr. Housman hopes to make it intelligible to other than English-speaking readers. It is certainly too often the case still that continental scholars appear to fight shy of writings shrouded in the obscurity of the English language. Everywhere in the commentary, as in that on Book I, the thoroughness of Mr. Housman's acquaintance with Manilius and with ancient astrological concepts in general is quite evident.

Mr. Garrod judges that cod. Manilianus G "is in itself an inferior L; but it is an inferior L which has been worked through (or its parent had, more probably) by a fool with a better MS of Manilius than the world will ever see again—till Herculaneum gives up its dead." His *stemma codicum* is somewhat complex, as he desires to indicate also the precise dependence of many MSS other than the three (GLM) which he regards as alone possessing independent value. For Mr. Housman the MSS problem is much simpler: the two chief families of MSS are equally good, for sometimes one excels, and sometimes the other ("Let us hear no talk of 'the better family of MSS,' for nothing of that name exists": ed. Book I, p. xxiv). In either family sometimes one MS has the better reading, sometimes the other. Readings are to be judged intrinsically, at any rate not at all from the family or MS in which they occur. There is of course much truth in certain of Mr. Housman's particular critical enunciations, but this general position has not appeared to convince the prudent, in spite of the contemptuous vigor with which he asserted and carried it out in the case of Book I (cf. *op. cit.*, p. xxxi ff.). At the present time Mr. Housman's *stemma* is not merely simpler than Mr. Garrod's; it is simpler than when he published the first book; for he has meanwhile become convinced that V (Vossianus 390), as well as Urbinate 667 and 668, is in direct descent from M (Matritensis M 31), and may

therefore be disregarded. His new *stemma* accordingly includes only GLL³M, and shows no such troublesome serpentine lines of intertwining as Mr. Garrod's.

Mr. Housman has made one step in advance since 1903, even though it has not carried him very far. At that time he was apparently quite content to depend for his knowledge of the actual readings of the MSS upon the published collations or excerpts made by others, even when he had little respect for their judgment otherwise. As late as 1907 he expended considerable ingenuity in establishing (*Class. Quar.*, I, 290-98), by a comparison of the excerpts from M printed by Robinson Ellis (*Class. Rev.*, VII, VIII) with an unpublished collation of M by Gustav Loewe (cod. MS philol. 139 in the library of the University of Göttingen) and with readings of RUV, the grave probability that a number of the striking readings ascribed to M by Professor Ellis must be mere errors of the excerptor, and did not stand in the way of the belief that RUV are all descendants of M. Mr. Housman has now actually obtained photographs of M and L, and has gone so far in the case of G as at least to compare the readings of Thomas (1888) with those of Bechert (1900), and to secure the judgment of the curator of MSS at Brussels where they disagree. In the case of M the photographs apparently confirm the acute inferences he drew in 1907 about certain of the excerpts published by Mr. Ellis. The experience might well indicate to a text-editor the advisability of autopsy, even at a considerable expense of time, trouble, and money. Happy the editor who needs for the support of his judgment no more immediate and precise witness than photographs can supply! When will the harder lesson be generally learned, of the necessity of collations personally made and reviewed with painstaking accuracy, and with the comparison in presence of the MSS of any collations previously made by others—all this, and in addition, not at all in substitution, the possession of photographs, where that is possible? Even then error may arise between the collation and the printed *apparatus criticus*. It is quite possible to see that Mr. Ellis' observation and recorded note in the case of several of the variants referred to above may not have been at fault, but that the blunders appeared in the process of the later transcription and arrangement for printing. There is one satisfaction: if Mr. Housman had himself collated M, or obtained his photographs of it before 1907, we should have been deprived of the enjoyment of the admirable specimen of reasoning afforded in his article of that year.

E. T. M.

A Commentary on Herodotus with Introduction and Appendixes.

By W. W. HOW and J. WELLS. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Pp. 446, 423. 7s. 6d. each.

This book "is intended principally for the use of undergraduates," but the university teacher also will find it a convenient and reliable book of

reference. The notes "are almost entirely on the subject-matter." Those on textual and grammatical points are few and unimportant. Subjects requiring lengthy discussion are handled in the appendixes, of which there are fifteen in the first volume, treating of Lydian, Assyrian, Median, Persian, and Egyptian history, geographical, racial, and chronological questions; and seven in the second, on Sparta, Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, and the numbers of the armies and fleets. These are excellent summaries, giving the results of the most recent discussions. At first sight one may feel that much in the second volume is simply a boiling-down of Macan, but it would be unfair to Mr. How not to admit that he has handled the evidence with independence of judgment. The later appendixes, however, do leave the impression that Macan, Grundy, and Munro are almost the only recent writers worth consulting on the problems discussed. Though the omission of many references to authorities in foreign languages may be justified by the purpose of the book, one might surely expect to find some mention of Wright's *Campaign of Plataea*, for example.

The introduction on the life and work of Herodotus is admirably done; brief, yet omitting no important point, and thoroughly up to date. Eight good maps add to the value of the volumes.

Having said so much by way of commendation, I may select a point or two for criticism. The argument of Munro on the numbers of the Persian army, ingenious, and, in some points, convincing as it is, in my opinion is valuable only as an explanation of the figures we have in Herodotus, but is utterly worthless for determining the actual size of the army of Xerxes. Munro is right in concluding that there were thirty *archontes*, instead of twenty-nine, from the fact that thirty times 60,000 (the archontal division given in 8.126 and 9.96) is 1,800,000, the number of the Asiatic land force; and because six generals-in-chief imply a multiple of six for the inferior officers. So far we are on fairly safe ground; but, plausible as it looks, it is not a certain inference that Hydarnes is the missing thirtieth *archon*; that the archontal division was therefore 10,000, not 60,000; that 60,000 was the division of the general-in-chief; and that Herodotus made the mistake of assuming it to be archontal and so reached his absurd figure, 1,800,000. Even if this result could be unhesitatingly accepted, I should not be able to follow Munro to the conclusion that Xerxes' army actually numbered 180,000. I have, in fact, no faith whatever in the reliability of army lists of that period—if, indeed, there were any army-lists. And what if the missing thirtieth archontal division of 60,000 could be otherwise accounted for? Why not find it in the 24,000 of Xerxes' body-guard and the 36,000 Persian marines on board the ships? The latter number, of course, would then be counted twice, but Munro himself takes for granted such little slips on the part of Herodotus.

An example of a note borrowed without sufficient thought is that of Stein on the arrangement of the 117 bricks upon which the golden lion of Croesus was set up at Delphi (I, 50). Stein assumes that the bottom layer

of the pedestal was 9×7 bricks, the second 7×5 , the third 5×3 , and the fourth the four bricks of pure gold. This gives us a pedestal $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $6\frac{1}{4}$ wide, and only one foot high; which is not a pedestal at all. It is absurdly low and long. If we assume that the lowest stage was made of three equal layers, 4×7 bricks each, the second of three, 5×2 each, and the third of three of one brick each, we get a pedestal six feet long, and twenty-seven inches high, which would put the head of the lion about on a level with the eye of the average spectator. It may be objected that this does not properly arrange the four bricks "of pure gold weighing two talents and a half each," but I suspect that these were the ones from which was made the "lion of pure gold weighing ten talents," and that there was no pure gold in the pedestal. Herodotus probably confused the items that were furnished him. Diodorus xv. 56 says there were 120 bricks.

A. G. LAIRD

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Das fünfte Buch der Ilias, Grundlagen einer homerischen Poetik. Von
ENGELBERT DRERUP. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913.
Pp. viii+451. M. 7.40.

The present division of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was unknown until the time of the Alexandrian scholars. This division was made for a reading public and is purely arbitrary, depending on the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. Often the book ends with no conclusion of the thought, e.g., the sentence with which *Od.* ii ends is not concluded in that book. No rhapsodist could recite at a single effort a poem of 15,000 verses; hence there must be a division into smaller unities, each unity like the whole having a beginning, a middle, and an end—each complete in itself, yet each a part of the greater unity of the whole. The poet could not have left these divisions to chance or caprice, but must himself have cared for the artistic production as well as for the artistic creation. The effect of the whole could be measured only by the effect of the parts. The parts must have been related to the whole much as the individual dramas of a tetralogy.

Professor Drerup has by repeated tests found that a reciter can pronounce about 500 verses per hour, and that two hours practically exhaust a reciter's powers; hence a rhapsodist would be limited to about one thousand verses at a single occasion. With this limit in mind he started to read the *Iliad*, and to his delight found that it divided itself into just such groups. The introduction of the *Iliad*, with the explanation of the motives of the poem, the plans for war, and the movement for battle, i.e., as far as to the Catalogue, made a rhapsode of 1,094 verses; then the Catalogue, perhaps not regularly recited, followed by the story of the making and the breaking of the truce, the inspection of the army, and the beginning of the fight, i.e., Books iii and iv,

or 1,005 verses, then v with 909 verses, a complete rhapsode, then vi and 312 verses of vii, ending with the duel of Ajax and Hector. So through the entire poem, in each case a natural division, each a small epic with its own beginning, middle, and end, yet each reflecting preceding events, and each influencing events which are to follow. Each rhapsode, complete in itself, is embraced in a larger unity of three rhapsodes; the first and third of each group, separated by the second, having mutual and intimate responsions. This grouping of three may represent the amount a bard could recite in a single day, three recitations, each of two hours.

Books iii and iv corresponding with vi and vii. 312, having Book v as the center, form a typical group: the duel between Paris and Menelaus having its responsion in the duel between Hector and Ajax, the scene with Priam and Helen at the walls of Troy having its responsion in the scene between Hector and Andromache at the same walls, while an equal amount of fighting is pictured in both rhapsodes. The center is formed by the Aristeia of Diomede. It is to this book that the bulk of Professor Drerup's work is devoted, since it is in itself a complete rhapsode and is an excellent example of the Homeric method.

This book is divided into three great divisions, the first and third divided each into three acts, each act into three scenes, while the central or pivotal part preserves the balance of the whole by being divided into two acts, each of three scenes. These acts and scenes correspond with each other and with themselves with an accuracy not surpassed by the odes of Pindar or the choruses of tragedy, not only in correspondence of form but even of ideas.

Two examples must suffice, the first to illustrate the responsion of scenes, the second to illustrate the minute antistrophic construction of the scene itself. In the second act of part one the boaster and coward, Pandarus, a Lycian, is slain by Diomede, the spear severing the tongue at its base. Thus in this scene a Lycian boaster is slain by a quiet Greek. In the same act of part two a Greek boaster, Tlepolemus, is slain by Sarpedon, a Lycian, and that blow also severed the organs of speech. The tragic irony is the same in both. The death of the boasting Greek at the hands of the quiet Lycian balances the death of a Lycian at the hands of a similar Greek. After the introduction of 36 verses comes the first scene of the first act, verses 37-55. The actors are in two groups of closely associated pairs and two are independent: Agamemnon and Menelaus, Idomeneus and Meriones, Meges and Eurypylus; Agamemnon slays his man, Idomeneus his, Menelaus his, Meriones his, then Meges his, and Eurypylus his. Thus we have the arrangement *ab ab cc*. Agamemnon slew his man with a thrust in the back, Idomeneus his man by a blow on the right shoulder just as he was about to mount his chariot in flight, Menelaus, like Agamemnon, slew his man with a thrust in the back, and Meriones, like Idomeneus, slew his man with a thrust on the right side while he, too, was trying to flee; hence in the manner of slaying the enemy we have the responsion *ab ab*. Meges and Eurypylus were independent

fighters and so accordingly each slew his man by a peculiar method, Meges by a blow in the mouth and Eurypylus by severing his hand; thus again in the method of fighting we have the arrangement *ab ab cc*. Other minute responses in regard to the men slain, the manner of flight, and the importance of the Trojans are also pointed out.

Between each scene of blood the gods are burlesqued, in order to relieve the strain. It is the setting of the poem and not the religious feelings of the poet which decided in each case when and how the gods are to be treated. Diomedes and Achilles must be kept heroic throughout, but the gods could be handled with absolute freedom; hence any attempt to divide Homer on the basis of respect or reverence for the gods is absurd.

Every part of this rhapsode, Book v., fits itself into every other part, scene responds to scene, act to act, with a perfection and harmony which carry their own conclusions. This harmony is made without the rejection of a single well-attested verse. Professor Drerup did not try to rewrite or improve Homer, but simply to study the poem as it is. The balanced harmony he has discovered is that which the Greeks observed in architecture as well as in lyric and dramatic poetry. The very fact that scene responded to scene made interpolations impossible, since an interpolated scene would betray itself by its lack of response. If the corresponding scene were also added, then the act would be out of correspondence, and so through the larger harmonies of the whole. So long as these harmonies were understood no one would be permitted to destroy them by additions, and when they were forgotten the text of Homer was too well established and too widely known to admit of interpolations.

This book is the most complete and thorough argument for unity with which I am familiar, since no well-attested verse is excluded and the force of the argument makes deliberate alterations and additions impossible. No unprejudiced reader will be surprised to learn that the author has recently been elected Professor of Classics in the University of Würzburg. This honor could not long be withheld from so sane and brilliant a scholar.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

De Lucretiani libri primi condicione ac retractatione scripsit
JOACHIMUS MUSSEHL. Tempelhof, near Berlin, 1912. Pp. 182.

Year by year Lachmann's foundations of Lucretian criticism are being undermined: the archetype, the rigorous limitation of vocabulary and syntax, the interpretation of the philosophy, the extent of incompleteness of the poem by the author—all these principles have been modified to such a degree that little more than the establishment of the text on the two Leyden manuscripts is left; and, as the Vossian codices are now available in Sijthoff's

photographic reproduction, one may expect a lively activity in the field of conjectural emendation.

Mussehl's Greifswald dissertation is a valuable contribution. It falls into four divisions: the first chapter deals with the poem as a whole and discusses the number of the books, the prooemia, the use of introductory particles, of parenthesis, and the general technique. The second chapter gives a minute analysis of the first book with special reference to the lacunae postulated by editors. Mussehl recognizes only three: those at 860, 1013, and 1093, all of which are due to copyists and not to the poet. The third chapter considers the condition of the other five books and their order of composition and their state of completeness or incompleteness. An appendix follows in two parts; the first contains a discussion of *quod superest, res, and ignes*, and the second deals with ten difficult passages in book iv.

The author's general position is that the poem is far nearer completion than has hitherto been considered. Here he was anticipated by Valk in 1902, whose reasoning, however, was far less cogent. Lacunae and transpositions Mussehl generally rejects; many stop-gaps he shows are inadequate; apparent duplication of arguments is proved to be demanded by Lucretius' method. He writes with a full knowledge of Lucretian literature, and subjects Brieger and Giussani and others to searching criticism. He has an open mind and appreciates the good in Bockemüller, and he does not altogether disregard the work before Lachmann. He is usually cautious, but some of his conclusions will be questioned in the light of the evidence of Epicurus himself: thus the treatment of i. 599 ff. and of 958–1051 might perhaps be modified by a closer examination of sections 41–42 and 58 of the letter to Herodotus.

The most valuable part of the dissertation is the careful analysis of the poem, and this is based on certain general principles. The author maintains that the argumentation is introduced by the particles *nam* (*namque, principio, enim, primum*) followed by *praeterea* (*porro, tum porro, quod superest* twice) continued at times by *deinde* (*tum, etiam*); the next member is introduced by *huc accedit*, then what follows by *denique*, and the last proof by *postremo*. Again, there are parentheses within arguments: thus 254–61 is a parenthesis within i. 250–64. This latter hypothesis is most ingenious and is destined to have much influence on future editors, but it can hardly be accepted for i. 469–77.

Mussehl thinks that all of the books except iv were practically finished by the poet; vi was written at odd times as a relief from the laborious effort given to the other books—a strange hypothesis, but not more strange than the theory that iii was written between iv. 822 and 823. Another position that is hardly tenable is that v. 146–55 originally occupied the place of ii. 1090–1104, or the still more grotesque hypothesis that the leaf containing iv. 217–29 was not returned to its right place after being removed by the poet in copying vi. 923–35. Lucretius himself perhaps failed to continue vi.

1246, and he did not put v. 110-234 and vi. 608-38 in their proper order; v. 306-23 is not in its proper place and v. 1436-47 with vi. 608-38 needed further treatment; otherwise the defects in the condition of the poem are due to manuscript tradition, except in the fourth book, which was unfinished by the poet.

This dissertation will repay close study and its arguments deserve most careful consideration.

W. A. MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

De Hieronymo Donati Discipulo. (Commentationes Philologae Ienenses IX, Fasc. II.) By FRIDERICUS LAMMERT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. Pp. 75. M. 3.20.

From three passages in which Jerome alludes to Donatus as his teacher, Lammert proceeds to a search in Jerome's works for parallels in thought and expression to the *Artes grammaticae*, the commentary on Terence, and the remnants of the Virgil commentary. The validity of several of these parallels might well be questioned, and the author has sought to forestall such objection by an explicit statement (p. 7) that he does not assert actual use of the works of Donatus by Jerome, but rather suggests reminiscences of his early training under Donatus. Even with such a proviso, however, there is probably little significance in the fact that Jerome as well as Donatus recognizes usage (*consuetudo*) in the choice of words (p. 6), or understands and explains the plural force of a collective noun used in the singular (p. 6). There are much more satisfactory parallels adduced than these, especially when Lammert passes from the *Artes* to the richer field of the Terence commentary, but even here an occasional one must be somewhat discounted. For example, *aiunt divinare sapientes* (p. 13) happens to be used only by Donatus and Jerome, yet its form shows it to be a proverb, and that a proverb should have been limited in use to a teacher and his pupil appears a contradiction in terms.

To the master's influence Lammert would also trace most of the pupil's knowledge of rhetoric (as shown in his use or explanations of rhetorical terms), and a considerable amount of his acquaintance with law, though the passages in which this knowledge is seen may bear no likeness to any extant part of the works of Donatus. Even here Jerome's own statement (*In ep. ad Gal.* i. 2. 11 f.) that in his youth he frequently attended law courts should caution us against making Donatus the sole source of his not remarkably extensive acquaintance with law.

After these comparisons with the remains of Donatus the endeavor is made to discover likenesses between Jerome and the commentators who may have employed the works of Donatus which are now lost, and this inquiry occupies the greater part of the pamphlet (pp. 27-75). Where agreement

can be established between two of the following: Jerome, the Scholia Danielis, Servius, and Pseudoasconius, there Lammert believes we are to see the influence of Donatus, whose store of knowledge these writers reproduce in different ways, the commentators by copying his books and Jerome by reminiscences of his instruction. In the Scholia Danielis this influence of Donatus is most clearly seen, far more so, if we may judge from the likenesses in Jerome, than in Servius or Pseudoasconius.

In such an argument as this critics will always differ as to the significance of individual resemblances, as, for example, in the instances cited above. Yet these are difficulties of detail rather than of principle, and over against a few unconvincing parallelisms must be set the combined weight of many that are cogent, so that there results from Lammert's study the recovery, not of the form, but yet of the substance of many interesting passages from the work of Donatus. The arrangement of the article is clear and methodical, and the understanding of its plan is aided by an excellent table of contents which similar works might well imitate.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Die Umschrift der älteren griechischen Literatur in das ionische Alphabet. Von RUDOLF HERZOG. Programm zur Rektoratsfeier der Universität Basel, 1912. Leipzig: Weicher. M. 3.

This interesting pamphlet will be a revelation to those who have hitherto taken merely casual notice, in scholia or in the writings of Wilamowitz, Ludwich, and Cauer, of the corruptions which the transcription of our texts from the epichoric or the Old-Attic alphabets into the Ionic alphabet of the fourth century has caused in the tradition of classical authors. In a hundred pages Herzog has arrayed the scattered evidence that shows how οι μεταγάγοντες (why -γάγουεντο?) must have been responsible for readings not intended by the authors. Changes occur not merely through the well-known confusion of ε and ο sounds—the commonest source of error—but also through false separation of words, gemination of consonants, mistaken use of paragogic ν, especially in cases where elision was intended but not orthographically represented, and through assimilation.

Having established the fact of transcription, which nobody would have needed to prove had not certain critics denied its importance, Herzog applies his method to selected examples from the poets, from Homer to Aristophanes. The results are especially instructive in Pindar's case; and all the authors show, what Wilamowitz maintained even before the papyrus finds of the last twenty years made it certain, that the crucial period for the tradition of the texts lies in antiquity, not in the Middle Ages.

It is possible that negative results confirming Herzog might be obtained by an examination of the text of authors after the Euclidean period, in order

to prove beyond cavil that the corruptions attributed to transcription are correctly explained. Meantime, the clearly and cautiously written monograph may be recommended to the careful study of beginners in our seminars.

CHARLES BURTON GULICK

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

M. Tulli Ciceronis ad M. Brutum et M. Bruti ad M. Tullium Ciceronem Epistularum Liber Nonus. Recensuit H. SJÖGREN. Gotoburgi: Eranos' Förlag (Lipsiae: Harrassowitz), 1910.

By a regrettable delay in the editorial office, notice of this slender but important volume has been deferred until the present time, when a belated and apologetic welcome is more in order than a detailed examination.

Not so very long ago a justly distinguished editor of Cicero's correspondence did not shrink from saying, "Baiter is a scholar of high eminence, and of his valuable contributions to the knowledge of the letters by far the most important undoubtedly is this—he has rendered superfluous any other collation of the mss which are the sources of our knowledge. . . . If . . . every editor who does not reproduce the text of Baiter must have himself collated the mss, then the work of Baiter has been thrown away. Scientific facts once ascertained do not call for repeated verification at the hands of each successive inquirer: why should not a collation once satisfactorily executed be regarded as final for the purposes of future editors? I conceive that an editor of the letters should accept without question the record which Baiter has given of the readings of M and the other mss of the letters," etc. Unfortunately too many other students have been quite content also to spare themselves much *operam et oleum* by following in the path of the superb *insouciance* just quoted (there have been one or two praiseworthy exceptions). The result has been that up to the present time general uncertainty has prevailed about the testimony of the MSS on many critical points in the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus especially, though there has been plenty of brilliant conjectural coruscation. Fireworks are indeed more illuminating in darkness than in daylight.

Fortunately Mr. Sjögren has not disdained the long, strenuous, and often dull labor of making new collations of a considerable number of MSS, instead of relying upon the reports of earlier days. How much we owe to Mr. Sjögren in comparison with Baiter in even the one matter of the collation of M, an inspection of their reports of readings in almost any single letter will plainly indicate. An untimely fate swept away C. A. Lehmann, from whom much had been hoped, but Mr. Sjögren promises to be a valiant and perhaps a better substitute for him. Since the appearance of his *Commentationes Tullianae* in 1910, in which he lucidly and convincingly demonstrated his general principles of criticism, and elucidated a consider-

able number of individual passages from the Letters, expectation of solid and trustworthy work from him has been fully justified.

This first fascicle of his critical edition is without preface, for the preface is properly to be found in his *Commentationes*. As a critical supplement must also be considered his *Tulliana i et ii*, which have appeared in *Eranos* X and XI (1910, 1911). He has been bolder than his predecessors in that he has placed the five letters we owe to Cratander ahead of the eighteen (or rather twenty-one) still extant in MSS, precisely as Cratander's testimony and the contents of the letters themselves dictate, and he has labelled the whole as Book IX, following the testimony of Nonius therein, which L. Müller doubted, but others have not hesitated to accept. For the first five letters Cratander is of course the only source. On the remaining number the editor has the welcome note, "Codices MbdmsEGHNPV ipse contuli, O tantum inspexi." Of the division of these into two classes he has treated in his *Commentationes*, which need not be discussed here. A useful addition to the critical apparatus is also a record of the readings of the Venice edition of 1470 and the second Ascensius edition (1522), as well as that of Cratander (1528), whereby some judgment of the character of Cratander's work may be formed. Some readings of the Roman edition of 1470 are also included. In general the editorial work shows a thorough acquaintance with Cicero's writings and great sanity of judgment, tending toward what appears a perfectly rational conservatism, which would uphold as Ciceronian many MS readings that have been censured by previous critics. The same excellent characteristics, it may here be briefly remarked, mark the edition of the letters *ad Quintum Fratrem*, which appeared a year later (1911). For the letters to Atticus we are yet waiting with eager and confident anticipation; and we may be permitted to hope that Mendelssohn's work will not be thought to render superfluous an edition of *ad Familiares* also by Mr. Sjögren.

E. T. M.

La phrase à verbe "être" en latin. Par J. MAROUZEAU. Paris: Geuthner, 1910. Pp. viii+334.

We have in this book an exhaustive study of the position of the forms of the verb *esse* in the comedians, especially in attributive phrases. M. Marouzeau premises (but does not prove) that an adjective denoting quality precedes its noun, and one denoting class follows its noun; then inversion in either case produces emphasis.—"With respect to the copula, the position of the subject is indifferent, that of the attribute is significant" (p. 35), e.g., *Asin. 220-21.—Bonus est answers the question quid est? Est bonus answers bonusne est?*

Marouzeau lays a good deal of stress (pp. 53 ff.) upon *reprise*, the harking back, in inverse order, to an idea that has already been expressed, e.g., *Bacch.* 385, 387 (C, D, meter, against the banal order of B). He justly

attaches importance also to *disjonction*, separation, as a means of emphasis, but uses the term in a questionably wide way, e.g., *Men.* 1026, *med erum tuom non esse*.

In general, the alternation between *factus est* and *est factus* is comparable with that of *bonus est* and *est bonus*; for Marouzeau denies the commonly accepted doctrine that in compound tenses the position of the auxiliary is a matter of indifference, and he holds that here too inversion and disjunction are significant. He accepts Postgate's theory of the origin of the future infinitive active (*IF*, IV, 252), but disagrees with Postgate's view that "Plautus felt little difference between *facturum* and *facturum esse*"; he believes rather that the rare *facturum esse* is emphatic.

Marouzeau examines at length "la phrase nominale pure," i.e., with no verb expressed (e.g., *uirgo pulcra*, *Phorm.* 103). He finds the use of this is restricted; hence he rejects Brugmann's view that *legimini*, indicative = $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{a}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, since the omission of a second person plural is too exceptional (*Asin.* 649) to represent a type of formation.

The array of facts cited is impressive, and one can hardly doubt that, so far as Plautus and Terence are concerned, various current views on word order are incorrect. The book abounds in interesting and suggestive side-lights. The author states that all indications point to "l'enclise de la copule par rapport à l'attribut" (p. 201). Nearly thirty pages are devoted to the alternation of *est* and *st*. Marouzeau is inclined to admit *siet*, *medio uersu*, but he makes no mention of H. Jacobsohn's *Quaestiones Plautinae* (1904), or of W. Noetzel's *De Archaismis* (1908). Plautus and Terence use *siet* only when the verb is not enclitic (p. 240). It is the function of *fuit* and its place in the phrase, and not its place in the verse, that are significant (p. 242).

An interesting development is sketched (p. 314) of the verb of existence into the mere copula, "grammatical tool empty of sense." The verb *esse* as copula is closely united to the attribute; as a verb of existence it is closely united to the subject (p. 283).

His observations based on the comedians can be shown to apply, to an appreciable extent, to later authors as well. Marouzeau finds evidence (pp. 285-312) of an evolution tending to invert the order of terms of the attributive phrase: literary Latin always kept *factus est* as the ordinary (unemphatic) order; but it was *est factus* (growing plebeian order), soon replaced by *fuit factus*, that led to the Romance *fut fait*.

The French language readily lends itself to the shades of meaning that are brought out by the mobile Latin word-order. In general, M. Marouzeau's contentions are convincing; often, however, it is difficult to accept his conclusions. In *Rud.* 531 it is two men who have just come from the water, not two women as Marouzeau says (p. 266). On p. 166 the famous lines *Aen.* iv. 570, 571 are curiously misquoted.

This book is unusually fruitful and suggestive, in a field commonly neglected as dry and not worth studying.

ARTHUR WINFRED HODGMAN

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Epiket und das Neue Testament. Von ADOLF BONHÖFFER. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911. Pp. xii+412. M. 15.

The author, who in two earlier volumes expounded Epictetus' system of teaching and his position within the Stoic school, here treats the specific question of genetic relationships between Stoicism and Christianity. The first section of the book is devoted to Zahn and Kuiper. Their conclusions to the effect that Epictetus was familiar with the New Testament are refuted in detail. Bonhöffer believes Epictetus to have been a true Stoic and nothing but a Stoic. Similarly, the New Testament writers are found to have been largely free from any Stoic influence. Even the scanty amount of such influence admitted by Clemen in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* is generally denied. No one of the Gospels, either in forms of expression or in thought-content, is found to betray the slightest kinship to contemporary Cynic-Stoic preaching—a remarkable conclusion when one remembers that the Christian preachers who composed the Gospels were using the same common world-speech, working in the same territory, and aiming at much the same result as their Cynic-Stoic predecessors and contemporaries. Even Paul, who adopted Hellenistic ways so freely that he broke not only with Judaism but also with conservative Jewish Christians, is said to have derived practically nothing from the popular philosophical propaganda, notwithstanding noticeable agreements between Paul's letters and Stoic literature in vocabulary, style, and thought. Stoic connections for the *logos* idea in the Fourth Gospel are also denied.

The second main section of the book minutely compares Epictetus with the New Testament, basing the comparison upon a study of vocabulary, ideas, and respective systems of teaching. While many similarities are recognized, the two movements are found to have no significant genetic kinships. Each had its own unique significance, that of Stoicism being its ethical vitality, its universal outlook, and its contribution to Christianity in later times. In the New Testament period Christianity maintained its primitive uniqueness, this being a spiritual content which enabled it to answer the religious needs of the day as Stoicism could not.

Bonhöffer has listed particulars with great care and has made a valuable contribution to a much-discussed subject. In one respect, however, his treatment seems open to serious criticism. As he views Stoicism and Christianity, they are too far removed from the arena of real life in which each movement worked out its own destiny. Each is treated as an isolated entity, hence neither is capable of deriving any contribution from the other without doing so consciously and without attempting a full harmonization between "original" and "borrowed" features. This supposition may be true in the case of well-disciplined theorists; it is hardly true of popular movements. To affirm, as the author so often does, that a Stoic phrase, idea, or point of view which is found in the New Testament is not traceable to a specifically Stoic source unless its context is the same in both Stoicism

and Christianity is equivalent to assuming that there can be no essential interrelation in particulars without practical identity between the two systems in their entirety. This may be true of "systems"; is it true of life? If not, popular Stoic philosophy, which had already leavened the life of the Graeco-Roman world before Christianity appeared upon the scene, may have contributed far more to the New Testament than Bonhoeffer believes.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Notes sur la fixation du latin classique. (Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Tome XVII, pp. 266-80, et Tome XVIII, pp. 146-62.) Par J. MAROUZEAU. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Editeur, 1911, 1913.

"Urban" Latin and "rustic" Latin must always have been in conflict in the Latin-speaking world, just as literary speech and uneducated speech are in all nations where the language has a literary norm. But the division should perhaps be drawn rather between the educated speakers of Latin, mostly knowing Greek almost or quite as well as their native tongue, reinforced by the poets and the grammarians, and, on the other side, those who formed the uneducated populace of Rome and of the country districts and the provinces. The influence of the educated classes would not, however, be confined to Rome; on the contrary, not only at Rome, but throughout the Roman domain, wherever there was a circle of educated speakers of Latin, correct ways of speech would leaven the language of the less educated.

It is the linguistic phenomena due to this conflict, down to about the time of Augustus, that M. Marouzeau portrays in this treatise. Literary speech, he says, preserved several diphthongs which in popular speech became monophthongs; it retained initial and intervocalic *h*, and inserted *h* to show the aspiration of Greek mutes, as also in some native Latin words, while *h* was lacking in such positions in popular speech; it was responsible for the spelling with *i* in *maximus*, as opposed to the *u* of older and popular speech; it restored to full value the weakened or lost final *s*; and there were certain differences in the use of suffixes in substantives.

While much of this will readily be granted, there are some matters to which exception may be taken. It may be doubted if this conflict played much of a part in the retention of *oe* which has not developed to *u* (*Poenus*, *Punicus*, etc.), except in special words; the *Sprachtempo*, which M. Marouzeau does not mention, is certainly a factor in the doublet *nihil*, *nil*; the genitives in Plaut. *Poen.* 838, *Merc.* 832, *Most.* 113 are decidedly not subjective (II, p. 6).

Despite, however, a certain amount of dissent in detail and the lack of anything startlingly new in this essay of M. Marouzeau, we are indebted to him for a satisfactory sketch of the results in the Latin language brought about by the conflict between the speech of the educated element and that of the uneducated masses—a difference which should constantly be borne in mind by those who interpret the Latin language and literature.

ROLAND G. KENT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

